

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 38 / 60 cents

*THE MOVEMENT  
GOES UNDERGROUND*

*WILL THE REAL  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
PLEASE STAND UP?*

*IN SEARCH OF THE  
"MODEL CITY"*

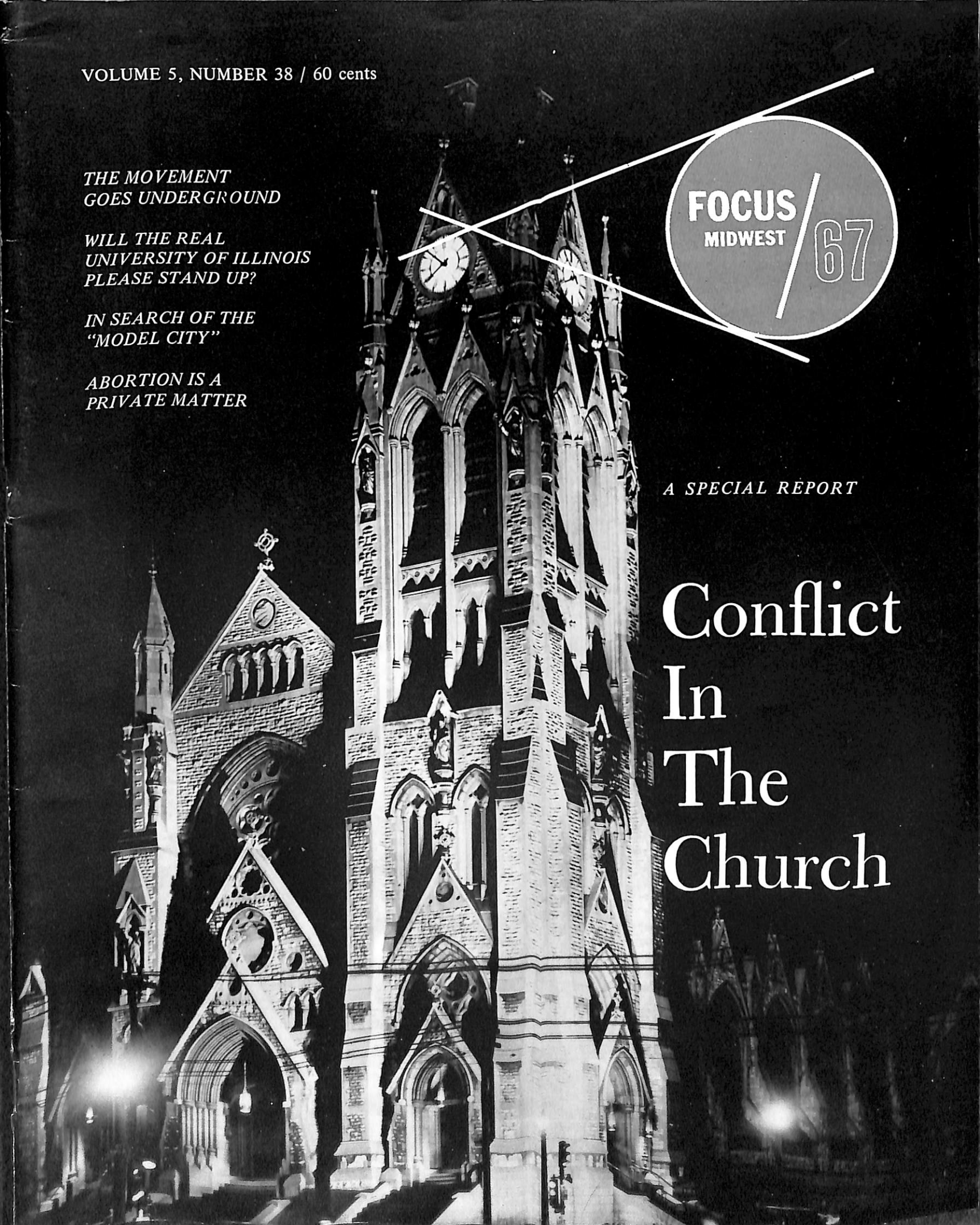
*ABORTION IS A  
PRIVATE MATTER*

**FOCUS**  
MIDWEST

67

*A SPECIAL REPORT*

# Conflict In The Church



# OUT OF FOCUS

*(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)*

After St. Louis University first hedged and then permitted a talk by a French Communist, a renown Marxist philosopher, they turned down student requests to hear Bishop Pike and Stokely Carmichael. The pros and cons heatedly debated by faculty and students explored many issues except the only real one — after St. Louis University permitted the French Marxist to talk (only to subscribers of their "Great Issues Series"), they lost \$40,000 in contributions. Pike and Carmichael might have meant additional losses.

The life expectancy of American Indians is about 63 years compared to a national average of over 70 years. The unemployment rate among reservation Indians is estimated at 46 per cent. Some 90 per cent of Indian housing in 1967 is sub-standard. Only two-thirds of Indian children were in school in 1967. In 1966, infant deaths were 38.5 per thousand compared to the U. S. average of 24.8. While the findings of a 1966 White House task force on Indian problems were *never made public by the White House*, the Indian Resources Development Act of 1967 did not recommend any new programs in education, health, or welfare.

"I think that schools should arrange premises for pupils who need sexual love during school hours," proposes Tore Robertson (24), a Swedish teacher. The Swedish Pupils Central Organization rejected the suggestion.

Virginia Kay, *Chicago Daily News* columnist, reported that all action came to a stop in the Illinois House during the session earlier this year when Rep. Henry Lenard (D. Chicago) — discussing a proposal to make Columbus Day a legal holiday — proclaimed: "We should commemorate the day when Columbus came over on the Mayflower — or whatever the hell he came over on."

While St. Louis' Model City Agency was barely saved from closing its door this summer by a \$7,000 grant from the Catherine Manley Gaylord Foundation, the business community is making slow but steady progress in its \$4,000,000 campaign to reconstruct the Pavilion, Spain's exhibit at the New York World Fair and given "free-of-charge" to St. Louis.

Among the books promoted by the Birch Society is "Proofs of a Conspiracy" by John Robinson — it was published in 1798!

In 1960 an American Military Research Team fed all the facts of World War I into the computers they use to plan World War III. They reached the conclusion that the 1914-1918 war was impossible and couldn't have happened. There could not have been so many blunders nor so many casualties.

From the program of the musical "Oh What A Lovely War"

Master keys for cars can be ordered by mail. The Better Business Bureau of Chicago reports that one firm advertises, "There is no easier, faster or more economical way to open locked cars." The firm advertises a master key which "will open doors and ignition of all cars and trucks built from 1955-1967."

It is common knowledge that the new "Mid-Missouri Chapter" of the American Civil Liberties Union headquartered at Columbia, Missouri, earlier rejected the name "Columbia Chapter" out of fear that faculty members would have difficulties with the University of Missouri.

A four-man delegation from Rev. Carl McIntire's rightist American Council of Christian Churches visited Vietnam and U. S. Commanding General Westmoreland. They were relieved to see two Bibles on his desk.

Bridgeton (Mo.) Police Chief Roy Beck defended the action of his policemen who asked a Negro to leave a tavern where he had been refused service because of his race. "No state law governs this," Beck said. The Missouri Public Service Accommodations law has been in effect for almost two years.

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## OUT OF FOCUS LETTERS

EDITORIALS / No Transfer, Please!; Mike Royko - Who Needs  
Him?; The Independent Junior Senator from Illinois; Another  
Loyalty Oath Felled; Democracy at a Profit; "Study on Triple  
Revolution"; Life in the Ghetto

2  
4  
6

THE MOVEMENT GOES UNDERGROUND / *Ernece B. Kelly*  
*Chicago Civil Rights Plan for the Long Pull, Establish Union*  
*of Organizers and Center for Radical Research*

10

WILL THE REAL UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PLEASE  
STAND UP? / *A Staff Report*

12

*A Review of the Steps Which Led to the Banning of the Campus DuBois*  
*Club and Excerpts from Statements by Former Trustee President*  
*Howard Clement and Former Trustee Irving Dilliard*

## POEMS

15

KNUTE SKINNER / *The Cow*  
DAVID CORNEL DEJONG / *Suburbanite*  
THOMAS MCAFEE / *Tigers in Red Weather*

THE CHURCH IN CONFLICT / *James Hitchcock*

16

*A Special Report on the Archdioceses of*  
*Chicago, Kansas City, and St. Louis*

IN SEARCH OF THE "MODEL CITY"

FIGHTING FOR THE GOODIES / *Donald Kornblet*  
*Creative Community Competition in the Wake of Determing the Model*  
*City Target Area Will Permanently Affect St. Louis Politics*

28

THE THREAT OF EXPERTISE / *E. S. Evans*  
*The Use of Systems Analysis by the Model City Agency Places*  
*Excessive Political Power in the Hands of the Planners*

34

ABORTION IS A PRIVATE MATTER / *Lonny Myers*  
*"To Transfer Abortion from the World of Crime to the Realm of Medicine*  
*Requires Not Modification, But Repeal of Criminal Abortion Statutes."*

38

THE RIGHT WING / *Supplement to the Roster of the*  
*Right Wing*

42





## Letters

### The Study on "The Triple Revolution"

F/M: Your winner, R. L. Cunningham makes some cunning points but overlooks the main problem which Mr. William A. Martin points out so well. The country, even without a Viet Nam war, is prosperous and has little unemployment of able workers as Mr. Martin points out. Our real poverty problems are really insurance problems. Medicare was a great step forward. It takes care of the unfortunate family who happens to have a severe and expensive illness of an older member, and everyone paying Social Security taxes helps pay for it. We must do the same thing with the rest of our poverty problems.

We have many old people with no income, no pension or only \$32.50 a month Social Security who are too proud to apply for welfare or state old age pensions based on means tests. So they depend on their children or other relatives. Some people are lucky not to have elderly dependent parents, or are lucky enough to have elderly parents who bought the right stock at the right time or worked for the right company or union to get a good private pension. Others are no so lucky. Let us equitable share the risk, pay adequate old age pensions to all, and tax the income of all to pay for it. If we paid adequate old age pensions to all, the elderly and disabled colored or white citizens, and some type of educational and children's allowance to those under 22 years of age, we would solve most of our poverty problems. The rest of the civilized world has done it — why can't we.

William S. Harms  
St. Louis, Missouri

F/M: Once again compliments to you and the Teamsters for your foresight in sponsoring this contest. At the moment Viet Nam is blighting our view of the main issues raised by TR, and blighting many other things too. When we emerge from our current idiocies, however, your good sense in putting on this competition will be fully displayed.

W. H. Ferry  
Center for the Study of Democratic  
Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif.

F/M: This last issue, "Revolution in America," is the most interesting, worthwhile, and challenging magazine I have ever read. May I say that I differ with the judges on the First Award; It is too dialectic, i.e., too much "art of disputation." The dialecticians often succumb to the use of "loaded" examples; as for instance this: "Once we become

aware that perhaps 10 per cent of the population will shortly (?) be able to produce all the goods and services needed by the nation, shall we continue to regard the other 90 per cent in the same light in which we viewed yesterday's 4 or 5 per cent unemployed? The question answers itself." (not at all). So far, the rates of population and GNP increase are too close together to justify that statement. He isn't the only dialectician I've known who ignores the time element when predicting a distant future. Remember the Technocracy excitement of only 30 years ago? I felt like quibbling with Dr. Cunningham on about 15 other points. Nevertheless, I enjoyed his analysis so much that I granted him the First Award. It was not until after reading all the others that I changed my mind. Fiona St. John's essay is heartbreaking. It reminds me of a child who beseeches a parent's favor after suffering a beating. My choice for the First Award would have been Herbert C. Kelman. I must admit, however, that I am biased in favor of students. They fear and hate the "commercial" psychologists for their tests and questionnaires, and would applaud Dr. Kelman for what he has to say about such "dehumanizing forces."

Alida H. Childers  
Weatherford, Oklahoma

### Fall and Muste

F/M: Your article by Professor Irving Louis Horowitz, "Two Martyrs: Fall and Muste," was the best I have ever read in your fine publication. The former liberal approach to political problems seemed to be a gradualist approach. The liberal temper was a step-at-a-time, and Tennyson described its ideal well enough as freedom slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent. But the new Liberal (with a capital "L") is in a hurry; and being in a hurry he finds himself sometimes hankering for the moral and technological shortcuts which the dictators and some right-of-center leaders apply as a matter of course. There are those Liberals today who contend that the end justifies the means, that you cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs. Fall and Muste were not those kind of men. They were realists. Never afraid to use the future as history, they were never without hope. That in itself was a lesson to learn from both men: we can all hope. We Must. Congratulations on the publication of Professor Horowitz' brilliant essay.

Clifford Librach, student  
Clayton (Mo.) High School

### Should Charities Be Abolished?

F/M: Charities and philanthropies should be

abolished (as Professor Hans S. Falck said in Vol.5, No. 36), if they mean simply the giving by the well-off ("good") man to the poor ("bad") man; they should be abolished if they mean a capricious approach to the social problem as a substitute for imaginative social policy and planning. But charities have been around about as long as society has, and the chances of their abolition are slim.

It is not only a question of changing society and integrating the "right to social services" into law. This has already happened in the United States more than Professor Falck has suggested, albeit by the pragmatic route. As long as human nature continues about the same, both the giver and the receiver will keep up a lively commerce in charity in some form. There is no reason why it has to be a substitute for governmental commitment to the service of human need.

Social services by government is obviously not a new idea. The Greeks and the Romans, in their way, served the needy in supplement of private charity. Hobbes and Adam Smith and Marx and F.D.R. variously held government responsible for caring for human need.

Need *should* define the general nature of service, but human needs are complex, and there is no one-shot, sure-fire solution "by definition" or by the best laid plans.

Professor Falck notes the qualities of adjustment and flexibility native to our pragmatic tradition. He thinks that *right* guaranteed by law, is born of *principle* ("some overriding principle") and nurtured by *planning*. Professor Hitchcock's perception ("The Liberal Position," No.34) that the radical is a man who sees himself as without sin may also comprehend the "planner," especially if he has no sense of history or humor. It is the tendency of the planner, who leans very heavily on principle, to play God to history and to other people. Both the radical and the planner (of whatever political spatialization) tend easily to become preoccupied with the program and the plan, and woe be unto the stubborn, the stupid, and the pragmatist who blunder into their paths!

The history of private charity does not present a picture totally void of planning; nor does it suggest a characteristic pattern of being "arbitrarily withdrawn." It has maintained a fair consistency of performance, whatever its other weaknesses. For example, contributions reported on federal income taxes for 1923, 1924, 1927, 1928 and 1929 ran always over half a billion dollars. In the period between 1922 and 1934, the largest percentage given to tax-exempt organizations was in 1932, one of the bad depression years. It was 2.61 per cent of net income — not much in terms of meeting the total service needs of the nation, but nevertheless a fairly steady figure throughout the period.

Support for private charities has



increased in recent years. Last year Americans contributed \$13.6 billion to philanthropic causes. Private charity has the value of preventing a rigid standardization and a concentration of power in an important area of society. Dispersal and diversity may be inefficient in many ways, but there are other values besides efficiency and commitment to principle. If by a "mature society" we intend to assume our continued democratic society, diversity of effort is necessary. If "charities" are to be assigned to the tasks of lobbying, research, and experiment, who will do the assigning? Furthermore, confinement to these areas alone will mean the use of a new set of terms. Limited to these functions, "charity" will not be charity.

In the widest sense "charity" refers to "all the good affections" men bear toward each other in varying degrees. Used in this way the word covers what goes by the designation of benevolence, philanthropy, and good will. In its narrowest usage, "charity" means a hand-out to the poor and needy. But these two usages do not cover exactly the sense in which the term is used in courts. Legal usage, as many cases will show, covers the general improvement of the life and happiness of man, rich or poor. In any case, charities will not be abolished, if for no other reason than the one noted by C. S. Loch, "If the world were so poor that no one would make a gift, or so wealthy that no one needed it, charity - the charity of life and deeds - would remain."

D. B. Robertson  
Associate Professor of Ethics  
Syracuse University

### PROF. FALCK REPLIES:

Professor D. B. Robertson's comments reveal assumptions that in turn suggest a view of the social welfare scene in America that has dogged it for centuries. Of course, there will "always" be private charity. I said nothing to doubt that. My point was that charity is a scandalous substitute for a fundamental obligation that cannot be met by the "steady figures" of pre-depression charity of which Professor Robertson speaks. The "dispersal of effort" theory which Robertson mentions, curiously enough appears mostly when it comes to welfare, education, and medical care. When the wealthy find it convenient they do not call for "dispersal." When it is not, the notion of dispersal is invoked, upon the dubious premise that it keeps us from the evils of over-concentrated power. But it is really too late for all those words. What is needed - even as *America* pointed out in an editorial on the same article, although suggesting that the government is far from perfect - is an effort of such enormous magnitude that private charity will look like a piker. That means a re-thinking of the fundamental values that have dominated us for centuries.

### Ouch!

F/M: Your magazine is to be congratulated for its continuing exposure of anti-communistic elements in our society. FOCUS/Midwest exposes these elements for what they are: shameless remnants of capitalistic imperialism whose only enemy are the peace-loving communist/socialist peoples of the world. Not long ago for example, a New York radio commentator had the effrontery to proclaim that there were perhaps some subversive elements behind some of the riots in our cities this summer. This despite

the fact that the "Rap" Browns and Stokely Carmichaels are merely peace-loving advocates of a "new order." In short, they are America's best friends. FOCUS/Midwest is especially to be commended for pointing out the fact that these right wing, anti-communist reactionaries are all fanatics. They are in other words, "brainwashed" with the fantastic notion that communism is inherently evil and is to be combatted. Typical capitalistic reactionary imperialistic propaganda. Once again, congratulations.

Donald F. Hines  
St. Louis, Missouri

### Once every seven years . . .

the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature considers new magazines for inclusion. Indexing FOCUS/Midwest in the Guide would be a great service to our readers, particularly libraries, schools, and students. Additions to the Guide are made on the basis of a poll conducted by the Guide among its subscribers. We ask our readers to bring FOCUS/Midwest to the attention of public, school, and company librarians. Following are some of many endorsements the Guide has received to index FOCUS/Midwest. Can you induce your favorite librarian or any other Guide subscriber you know to request listing in the Guide for FOCUS/Midwest?

F/M: . . . Our readers . . . find FOCUS/Midwest a very useful publication. With our new Junior College going into operation this summer and the requests by our high school students, it is being read more and more each day. FOCUS/Midwest serves us greatly.

Mrs. Billie Scoville  
Poplar Bluff Public Library

F/M: . . . invaluable for information on the social, political, and economic aspects of this area. It is not so regional, however, that it would be useless for other parts of the country.

Mrs. Jewell Smith  
Ozark Pioneer Library (Springfield)

F/M: . . . The information contained in the magazine seems to cover subjects of current enough and sufficiently broad enough scope.

Joan E. Mallett, Librarian  
Dept. of the Air Force  
USAFE Base Command, New York

F/M: . . . FOCUS/Midwest was the one library source we found which could supply us with information on the current state political scene. The spring issue of the magazine published a list of Missouri and Illinois Senators and Representatives and how they voted in key issues. This was exactly the data several Social Studies classes needed to carry out a research assignment. Such information, important primarily at a local level, cannot be found in nation-wide publications.

Mrs. L. L. Moeller  
East Ladue Jr. High School Library

F/M: . . . We find this a very valuable magazine . . .

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Chicago

F/M: . . . It contains vital current information on midwestern political and social concerns found in no other source . . .

Elaine Harvey  
Webster College Library

F/M: . . . Our students find it highly informative on so many of the topics that they use for library papers . . .

Gus E. Leimkuhler, Jr.  
N. Kansas City High School Library

F/M: . . . The Library has subscribed to this publication for some time and we have found it to be extremely useful to our patrons. Although it does have some emphasis on subjects of importance to libraries in the midwestern states, it also contains articles which would be helpful to libraries in other parts of the country . . .

Margaret Casey  
Washington County Library

F/M: . . . FOCUS/Midwest . . . is more than just another innocuous news publication. It is a midwest journal that challenges complacency in its own countryside. The articles are written by competent midwestern writers, and its editorial policy is sound though emphatic in expressing unexpected ideas. Such a journal is needed as a foil to any inclination to chauvinism . . .

Mrs. Florence F. Johnson  
University of Kansas Library

F/M: . . . We enjoy FOCUS/Midwest.

Ina M. Kuzel  
Moline Public Library

F/M: We find the magazine FOCUS/Midwest a very interesting magazine. It is frequently used by students for articles of current interest . . .

Mrs. Olive McDonald  
East Alton Public Library

## No Transfer, Please!

Empire-building is a natural by-product of public agencies, but when it threatens to usurp a well-run program from another department with the likelihood of diminishing its effectiveness, more than inter-department bickering is involved.

Federal air pollution control has been handled by the Health, Education and Welfare Department as well as can be expected. Not only have they had to face the hostility of heavy industry, but for years they had to contend with the U. S. Department of Interior which would like to administer the program.

The Interior's sorry record in the oil-shale controversy makes us fervently wish that Congress keep air pollution control where it is now.

Recently, the Department of Interior has taken another poorly camouflaged step in taking over this program. They have appointed Jack Bregman, former chairman of the Illinois Air Pollution Board as an expert in water pollution research. Dr. Bregman's record with the Board (see "Industry Dominates Illinois Air Pollution Board," Vol. 5, No. 35) have not filled us with much enthusiasm in his devotion to pure air. Unlike Missouri, which has an excellent Air Conservation Commission, Illinois is in a mess. Now the person chiefly responsible for this record has been hired by a federal agency and might hope ultimately to be placed in charge of the federal air pollution effort.

As we go to press, another move in the Interior's long-range plan has surfaced. In an unexpected development, the Senate Committee on Government Operations disclosed that its Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization would hold hearings (October 17-19) on Senator Frank E. Moss' (D. Utah) Senate Bill 886 which would convert the Department of Interior into the Department of Natural Resources. It would transfer to the new department many government functions related to conservation, including the air pollution and solid waste control programs now under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The subcommittee is headed by Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff (D. Conn.), a former HEW secretary.

Once before the Interior managed to take over a HEW program. President Johnson in 1966 submitted to Congress the transfer of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration from HEW to Interior. It became effective that same year. Already then conservation groups objected to the change because Interior included several bureaus regulating interests (such as mines, gas, and oil) that consistently contributed to water pollution. Also, the transfer caused a loss of anti-pollution experts who had decided not to transfer to Interior. (The same would happen again if the air program would be transferred.) The Administration overrode these arguments because the Interior was the logical place for the WPCA, since the Department already handled many federal water control programs.

Until the Department of Interior changes its policy on oil shale and seeks out air pollution experts as much interested in pure air as in industrial profits, we prefer HEW.

## Mike Royko — Who Needs Him?

Now and then comes along an old-fashioned columnist (today's only form of unfettered journal-

ism) who intuitively knows that this world stinks. So he sticks out his nose blindly and follows the foulest scent and — this tops everything — dares write about the garbage heaps he finds.

His publisher-employer is at a loss what to do with his little frankenstein. In desperation — they cannot fire him as much as they and City Hall would like to — they give him awards and wallow a bit in the glory of Their Symbol of Free Journalism.

But awards or not, nothing can encourage this outsider to find his way back to the Mainstream of American Journalism. Lost in the bleak worlds of pimps, gangsters, shysters, and Solid Businessmen, he ignores the Beauties of Life and the Pleasures of Polite Conversation.

One of such misfits is Mike Royko, columnist of the *Chicago Daily News*.

Who needs him? More like him, who would read FOCUS/Midwest?

## The Independent Junior Senator from Illinois

We selected 15 key votes cast by U. S. Senators from Illinois and Missouri during the first six months of this year. Because of some absences and our inability to decide whether various amendments to the newly enacted draft bill were "liberal" or not, we were left with eight votes. They encompass votes on cloture, lobbying, the U.S.-Soviet Consular treaty, the treaty on peaceful uses of outer space, amendments to substitute a voluntary system for the draft and to permitting a population variation in congressional districts of no more than ten per cent.

Our tabulation was most illuminating:

SENATOR	LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE	
	VOTES	
Percy (R. Ill.)	7	1
Long (D. Mo.)	5	3
Symington (D. Mo.)	5	3
Dirksen (R. Ill.)	2	6

The most disappointing vote — where even the Junior Senator from Illinois struck out — was the rejection by the four of Sen. Edward Kennedy's amendment permitting a population variation of only ten per cent rather than the bill's 35 per cent for the 1968 and 1970 elections. On the vote for passage of the bill, all but Dirksen changed and supported the bill. Also disappointing was Senator Symington's vote against prohibiting joint ventures by Senators and lobbyists and prohibiting Senators accepting gifts from lobbyists in excess of \$100; and Senator Long's opposition to requiring Senators to file annual financial statements (supported by Symington).

Since our comment late in 1966 on senatorial voting habits, it appears that Symington has moved closer to Long's more liberal position. But the most engrossing development has been Percy's voting behavior. He follows a policy obviously independent of Illinois' Senior Senator. Except for the one vote cited, his record — in Congress at least — could not have been bested by former Senator Paul Douglas.

There are some excellent programs in the performing arts for disadvantaged youths. We want to know more about these activities. See editorial page nine for details.

## Another Loyalty Oath Felled

"Social pressure against the dissenter is great; this is one reason why it is important to dissent openly, lest we find ourselves passively accepting any and all government dictates."

Dr. Gerald A. Ehrenreich not only dissented openly but he made the freedom to dissent a bit more secure by refusing to sign a Kansas loyalty oath for public officials and employees and then instituted a suit — joined by twelve other teachers from state universities at Lawrence, Manhattan, and Wichita — to declare the 1949 Kansas statute unconstitutional because it falls short of due process requirements by its vagueness, violates the constitutional prohibition against *ex post facto* laws and bills of attainder, and invades the First Amendment protection of free speech and association.

He was upheld by a three-member panel of federal judges in Kansas City, Kansas, in September.

Dr. Ehrenreich, a psychologist hired to teach psychoanalytical psychotherapy to residents in psychiatry and staff at the Kansas University Medical Center, had been waiting to challenge the oath since an incident in 1962 when he was elected to a school board in Prairie Village, Kansas. After that election he was asked to take the loyalty oath. When suddenly faced with this request in front of some one-hundred of his neighbors who had just honored him, he took it with the other board members. Ever since that evening he felt at odds with himself. He was prepared when the occasion arose again and the University of Kansas asked him to sign the oath.

"To me, there is implicit in the law the assumption that I am not a loyal citizen. Since mere refusal to sign the oath constitutes a felony, it would appear that in the eyes of the government I am guilty until I can prove otherwise." This Dr. Ehrenreich could not accept. Besides, according to the doctor, the law contains a curious attitude about human behavior, "it presumes that anyone who did intend to overthrow the government by force, would not be so deceitful as to sign the oath. Such laws also reinforce the feelings which citizens have that they and their government are protagonists who have to deal with each other warily and with suspicion."

The Kansas statute is only one of many loyalty oaths which have been declared void. It is curious, at the very time we are burying the relics of the McCarthy era, a variety of new measures are passed by the states which will require court action by dissenters in the years to come.

The Illinois General Assembly passed (and the governor signed) a bill prohibiting "unruly demonstrations." The bill clearly infringes on the right to dissent in a peaceful manner. It limits the size, the timing and duration, and the routing of peaceful demonstrations and demands that officials be given 24 hours notice including location, maximum number of persons participating, names and addresses of organizers, and the route, time, and duration of any march.

Again dissenters are kept from expressing their views freely. America can have more faith in the strength of its institutions than to tremble at the threat of a march. *If not, then it is not the march but the institutions which are rotten.*

**ARE YOU MOVING?** Save yourself and us extra cost by notifying us in advance. Send old and new address and date of moving.

## Democracy at a Profit

The unwritten law that virtually all new and decent housing is for whites only, except once in a while when it is for Negroes only, is being challenged in the Midwest. M-REIT, the Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust, now active nationally and in Missouri and Illinois, was organized to show the housing industry by example that integrated housing is economically practical. In the words of Thomas Klutznick, Chicago realtor and M-REIT treasurer, "The profit motive system of our economy can be a major influence in abrogating discrimination in housing. M-REIT as an economically successful venture will lead individuals and businesses to investments which are economically sound and at the same time capable of protecting the rights of all Americans."

M-REIT is the brainchild of Morris Milgram. Mr. Milgram is an old hand in racial equality struggles. In the late 1930's Communist lawyers provided the sole legal aid to civil rights cases. An organization, the Workers Defense League, was formed by liberal lawyers. Milgram became the League's National Secretary.

Fully integrated on every level, M-REIT buys apartment houses in major metropolitan areas throughout the nation, in neighborhoods closed by discrimination to non-whites, and operates them on a business basis for open occupancy.

M-REIT has sold more than \$2.6 million of a \$4 million stock issue registered in 1966. In April 1967, the Trustees voted their second distribution, for the preceeding fiscal quarter, to about 3,000 shareholders, 15 cents per \$20 share. Integration is proceeding well in the four buildings M-REIT owns in white areas of New York and Virginia. Investments range from \$200 to \$100,000.

M-REIT was formed as a real estate investment trust in order to take advantage of the fact that, as compared with corporations, there is no double taxation of profits (the trust is not taxed). Moreover, depreciation of property shelters or defers some of the Trust's revenues from taxes, providing some tax-free cash to investors.

M-REIT is placing special emphasis on the Midwest. Klutznick serves on the five-man Board of Trustees and Charles F. Vatterott, Jr., St. Louis builder, and Dr. Richard Gordon, Director of Central Research at Monsanto Company serve on the national advisory committee. A Missouri Advisory Committee for M-REIT has been organized. It includes a past president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, Daniel Sheehan, Sr., Episcopal Bishop George L. Cadigan, and real estate dealer Eugene W. Wood. Copies of a newsletter, M-REITINGS, which they publish are available from Mrs. Bernard Becker, 7041 Kingsbury, University City, Missouri 63130.

The Trustees have recently agreed to buy a fifth building, this one in the Midwest. Here, finally, is one investment venture operating not only in accordance with but also motivated by the democratic principle that all citizens are entitled to equal housing opportunity.

(As we go to press, M-REIT send us an advertisement order. Meekly hoping that we won't be accused of selling out for 30 pieces of M-REIT stock, we decided to run it anyway.)



## "Study on Triple Revolution" Issue Good Resource for Coming TV Series

In the brief time since its publication, our last issue (No. 37) "Revolution in America," featuring the award-winning essays of the "National Study on the Triple Revolution," has become another highpoint in the life of FOCUS/Midwest. The study was financed by a grant from the Labor-Management Charitable Foundation of Teamsters Local No. 688. Harold J. Gibbons, Secretary - Treasurer, aptly summarized the study's significance: "From now on the Triple Revolution Report cannot be read without also studying these essays." A unique compliment to the authors and the distinguished judges.

Unexpectedly, the 1967 college debating topic is the proposal for a guaranteed annual income. As a consequence, the issue is in heavy demand by debating coaches and colleges. (Single price: \$1; 10 or more 75 cents each; free as one of two gift copies with a one-year subscription.)

One of the original signers of the "Triple Revolution Report" is Robert Theobald, economist and author. Readers of our last issue will welcome the news that he will conduct four half-hour television programs in November (5th, 12th, 19th, and 26th). The series, "The Choice Is Yours," will be aired over the CBS network and will serve as a catalyst for discussions by small living-room groups. Currently, efforts are underway to organize viewing groups in homes in many cities. (For information on the local co-ordinator please contact the local CBS-TV outlet.)

Readers who plan to view the series should first read our last issue, "Revolution in America." It would be an invaluable aid in discussing the "Choice."

## Life in the Ghetto

Drawing on a variety of statistics and published statements, *Congressional Quarterly* attempted to identify some of the main features of ghetto life. They found that life in the city ghetto, a self-perpetuating and desperate existence, was viewed by many as a major cause of the violence that erupted in 1967.

The portrait it culls from governmental figures and other studies buttresses testimony by author Claude Brown before the Ribicoff Subcommittee. Brown explained the frustration of ghetto life had its roots in a "misplaced generation" and a "misplaced people" struggling to make a new life in "an extremely complex, confused society."

It began with the sons and daughters of Southern Negro sharecroppers migrating to Northern cities in quest of a new start in the promised land, where "there was no color problem."

But once in the North, the newcomer found that the promised land was a cruel illusion. "There were too many people full of hate and bitterness crowded into a dirty, stinky, uncared-for closet-size section of a great city," he said. "Once they get there, and become disillusioned, they can see the streets aren't paved with gold and there exist no great economic opportunities for them; they become pressured. Many of the fathers who brought the families can't take the pressure any more, the economic pressure. How can you support a family of five kids on \$65 a week? So he just leaves. He just ups one day and leaves, maybe becoming an alcoholic."

Statistics showed nearly one-quarter of urban Negro marriages were dissolved. (Chicago, 23.5%; Detroit, 19.2%; Cleveland, 18.5%; St. Louis, 23.1%; and Milwaukee, 18.2%.)

Consequently, the female-headed Negro family emerged as one of the paramount features of life in the ghetto. Almost 25 per cent of all Negro families were headed by women. And the situation grew worse as the years passed. Between 1960 and 1966 the number of persons in Negro families headed by women rose from 3.2 million to 3.8 million, while the per cent of poor persons in these families were from 8 to 12 per cent.

Related to the problem of families headed by women was the matter of illegitimate births. There was evidence that again nearly one-quarter of Negro births were illegitimate and even higher in some cities.

The female-headed family faced a difficult economic future. The mother was impelled often to establish a relationship with another man in hopes it would develop into a genuine family situation. But, more often than not, the relationship failed to become a stable one and the result was another unwanted child.

For the offspring of the family headed by a woman or for the illegitimate child, the future was depressing, with the same pattern of defeat and frustration repeating itself.

In all likelihood, the child would have finished only the ninth grade by the time he was 18 years old and then, as a protest at his lack of success in school, he dropped out entirely. The next step might be his failure to pass the Armed Forces Qualifications Test (56 per cent of the Negroes taking it did fail), which measured the ability of an average seventh or eighth grader. This setback would be a particularly significant one because military service with equal opportunity for all had provided an important rung up the economic ladder for many Negroes.

Finally, the Negro youth, lacking parental supervision, might get into trouble with the police. His police record — which might show arrests and arraignments but not the final disposition that he was not guilty — would hurt his chances of getting a job. If he had been convicted of a felony — possession or use of narcotics for example — he would not be permitted to vote.

Even if he escaped having brushes with the law, the ghetto resident with limited job skills entered the job market seriously handicapped. Often the job he got did not pay him enough to support his family and he had little hope of doing better. Through odd jobs, he might be able to boost his annual family income to almost \$3,000, but that was only about half the income of the average white family.

The ghetto man tied up much of his income in installment debts for a car, a television set, and some of the other conveniences so common in middle-class America. But because of a low credit rating, he was forced to pay excessive interest rates to buy on credit. Some of his creditors had his salary garnisheed.

If he were married, he had five children. They lived in overcrowded, substandard housing. Four million urban families lived in slums, the Government said.

As pressures and frustrations mounted, it became more likely that the Negro father would leave home — as his father had done, if, indeed, he had ever known his father. He might leave because he found his inability to support his family debasing or humiliating or in order that his wife and children could be eligible

for welfare payments.

As a result, his family came to rely on welfare payments for their support. The mother spent proportionately more for basic necessities — food, clothing, and rent — than did a white family at the same income level. The food she bought, either in a neighborhood grocery where she had credit or in a chain supermarket in her ghetto, cost more and was of poorer quality than food sold in suburban communities.

But life in the ghetto was not simply a matter of miserable economic conditions. The effects spread to the schools, which were totally segregated, run down and overcrowded, and to street associations where the children at an early age begin to come into contact with criminal elements, prostitutes, dope pushers and outright thieves.

The roots of the civil disorders can be found in this statistical profile of ghetto life.

### Teachers Asked to Confess Beliefs

To our amazement we learned that the Special School District of St. Louis County lists on its application form for teachers and professional staff members the question, "Do you believe in a Supreme Being?"

Beyond any doubt, this question is unconstitutional and does an ill service to the Special School District which, in general, has been doing an excellent job. We hope that the Board — consisting of Hiram Neuwoehner, president; Wendell H. Stark, vice president; Lillian M. Feller, secretary; and Clement A. Cole, William F. Allison, and Armstrong B. Crider — will take up as its first order of business the cleaning up of its application form. And while they are busy revising it, they might as well drop the loyalty oath, also part of the application. In state after state these oaths have been declared unconstitutional. It would be a pleasant surprise if one board would have the maturity to delete it without a court order.

### Information Sought on Performing Arts Activities for Disadvantaged Youth

Riots are not the only signs of "where the action is" in America's angry inner cities. In recent months an upsurge of storefront and sidewalk theaters, dance groups, variety shows, film-making projects, and a host of performing arts activities have been turning youthful energies to creative uses.

Under a major grant announced by the Arts and Humanities Division of the U. S. Office of Education, these programs and others across the nation are to be intensively studied by the Brooks Foundation in Santa Barbara, California. *The National Study of the Performing Arts for Urban and Rural Youth* will survey the hundreds of performing arts programs that are providing creative outlets and experiences for young people in urban and rural disadvantaged communities. The study will identify and classify those elements of the programs that make for success in reaching and motivating disadvantaged youth with the ultimate goal being introduction into regular school programs.

Don D. Bushnell, vice president of the Brooks Foundation, is director of the study. In addition, three regional directors of the study have been appointed. Bushnell will be responsible for the western United States; Charles L. Klotzer, editor and publisher of

FOCUS/Midwest, will be directing research in the Midwest; Mrs. Kathryn Noyes, author and Associate for the Arts and Humanities at the Learning Institute of North Carolina, will be regional director for the South; and Clifford Frazier, actor, director, and writer, will be conducting the study in the East.

In the Midwest, information about programs of any size involving voluntary participation of young persons from ages five to twenty in drama, dance, music, film, drawing and painting, or other performing art forms can be forwarded to the following local researchers:

CHICAGO and GARY: Ernece B. Kelly, 6726 S. Oglesby Ave., Chicago, Ill.

KANSAS CITY: Mary Hayes, 3301 Agnes, Kansas City, Mo.

MILWAUKEE: Reuben Harpole, Jr., Dept. of Community Leadership Development, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisc.

MINNEAPOLIS: Gerald Vizenor, 101 Seymour S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.

ST. LOUIS and SOUTHERN ILLINOIS: Eugene Redmond, East St. Louis Campus, Southern Illinois University, 900 Ohio Ave., East St. Louis, Ill.

Information about any programs can also be forwarded to the Brooks Foundation, Santa Barbara, California 93103.

According to Bushnell, "many schools in focusing on reading, writing, and verbal skills fail to reach the non-verbal learner, the youth who has been negatively conditioned by years of school failure. New approaches are needed that can help such students express themselves and, perhaps for the first time, enjoy a successful education experience. The lively arts provide such an approach. Arts programs receive direction from adults who are making it in the real world and the rewards for participation and success come from the larger community outside the school."

The six-month study will examine over one thousand programs receiving federal, foundation, church, and community sponsorship. The major thrust of the study is to determine how performing arts activities can foster personal intellectual development of disadvantaged youngsters, encourage artistic potential, provide training for social action, or lead to re-entry into school or job. Scripts, teaching plans, and student-produced materials that could be adapted to school use will be collected and published.

### CHANGE IN SUBSCRIPTION RATES

On January 1, 1968, the new subscription rates noted below will go into effect. This is the first change in our rates since the magazine was established in June 1962.

One year	\$ 4.00 (six issues)
Two years	\$ 7.50 (twelve issues)
Three years	\$11.00 (eighteen issues)
Five years	\$17.50 (thirty issues)

*Renewals will be accepted at the current rate for the balance of this year.*

# The Movement Goes Underground

by  
ERNECE B. KELLY

The Movement? What's that?" This is too often the response, sardonic or innocent, of the anonymous and alienated persons living in Chicago's ghettos.

Among the local civil rights leaders who have gotten this answer is Albert A. Raby. He is working with others to change this. Raby is, with Dr. Martin Luther King, a co-leader of the Chicago Freedom Movement. He is a young man whose distress at the impoverishment at the Upper Grade Center in which he taught lead him to join a group of activist teachers in Teachers for Integrated Schools. From there he went on to head the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations — a loose federation of diverse human rights groups in the city. He has been its Convener for more than two years until his recent resignation.

"Our work last summer — the marches, the Summit Agreement — will help the middle class. But it'll be a long time before the inner city feels the effects. That's why I'm involved with others now in forming the School. We want ghetto changes in this generation!"

The "we" Raby refers to is the handful of long-time Movement workers and active community organizers — most of them of the grass roots variety,

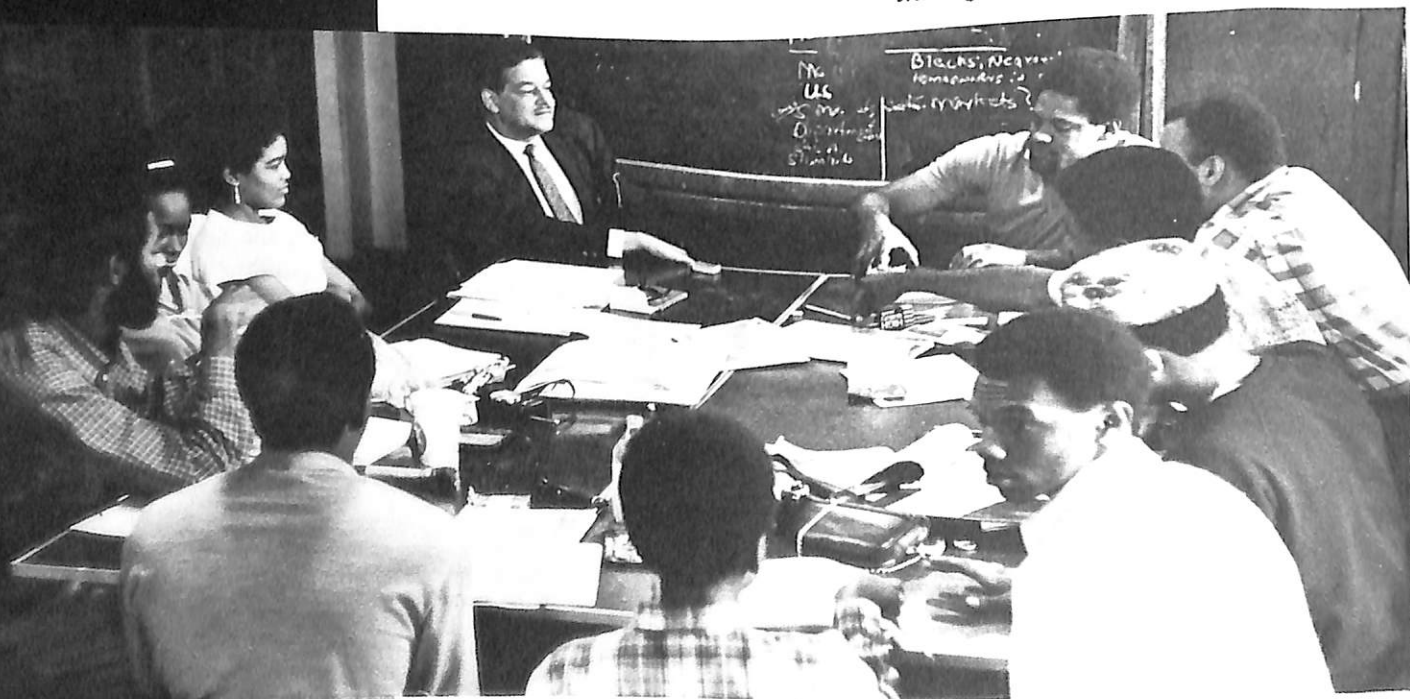
some operating out of mere storefronts, honeycombed into small offices — who are hammering out, on a continuing basis, the structure for the Union of Organizers' School.

The School has four main objectives: to generate serious political power in at least a dozen wards by 1971, that's when both mayoral and aldermanic offices will be at stake; to help organize an intelligence network of students and professionals to gather the extremely hard-to-find information such as who the decisionmakers are and how the decisions are made which perpetuate Chicago's ghettos as the non-viable, faceless islands they are; to write and publish ideas on organizing; and to develop leadership and more effective organizers among the black and white powerless.

Most of Chicago's communities which the School hopes to galvanize into well organized entities are black and because of this most of the organizers to be trained will be black. But there are critical neighborhoods where whites experience the same kinds of devastating exploitation that has become identified with the Negro ghetto. Whites will work as organizers there.

This racial matching of organizers with the community is an operational principle of the School. But even if it

*Members of the Chicago Union of Organizers study the power structure of Englewood, a Chicago neighborhood, in a new effort to improve conditions in the inner city through community and political action.*





were not, this pattern would take hold anyway. For there are few exceptions to Chicago's housing segregation and those being trained as community organizers are residents of that same community. Almost invariably, such individuals would share color with their neighbors.

In the Center for Radical Research, another aspect of the School, whites play a leading role. This dramatic name represents a group of approximately 30 college students, most are white, who have spent their summer using their researching skills to answer some of the most thorny problems facing present-day organizers.

Some typical problems are these: Who lets the contracts for urban renewal? How is the decision made to blacklist a neighborhood so that mortgages and insurance are unobtainable? Where do the neighborhood poor go for health services? And who is the clientele of hospitals near the ghetto?

Metropolitan newspapers generously covered the announcement of the School and the Center in the beginning of the summer. It appeared to be a well reported and comprehensive attack on ghetto apathy and ignorance.

As the Chicago summer faded, it became clear that the more ambitious hopes for the program would not be fulfilled. Today, however, the program is still in operation and has followed its blueprint relatively close and with a measure of success.

Even if the School failed in its goal of training 20-30 organizers in a given community every three months before moving on to another neighborhood, the results of the researching would remain catalogued at the headquarters of the School. This data will be an invaluable aid to organizers. For readily accessible answers could free an organizer to struggle with the more immediate and individual problems of his neighbors.

Also, it is hoped that the college students themselves have benefitted. They will return to their campuses with clearer pictures of the relationship between urban power structures and the plight of the poor.

Even while they worked, however, the young researchers (and some professionals) were learning from new perspectives by attending seminars as a kind of exchange for their services. The topics of these seminars were as radical as the subjects being researched: Theology and Radicalism and

American History from the Bottom Up were just two of them.

In this arm of the School's operation, the skills of the white middle- or upper-income student were used. In the School itself, the lower-income groups were involved as students learning to be organizers. This kind of inclusiveness characterizes the entire project and begins to explain why it has captured the interest and efforts of a cross section of Chicago's veteran Movement people.

What has been developing in this city for a number of years, but is surfacing only now and found expression in the birth of the School, is a kind of ecumenicity of grass roots groups. It is a loud retort to the charges of splintering in the Movement. Through this effort, six organizations have cracked the geopolitical walls which ordinarily separate communities.

In doing so, they have discovered that many of them are struggling with similar problems. They have matured enough to see that there were critical lessons they could give each other. The School is their arena for the exchange of information.

### A "Typical" Organizer

A typical grass roots organizer with the kind of problems which the Center and the School will work to dissolve would be James Johnson. Johnson works out of a storefront in Chicago's West Side ghetto. He is working, like most small-base organizers, in a kind of devastating isolation.

For three years he has labored almost exclusively on welfare problems, assisting in negotiations with caseworkers, organizing pickets around their offices, and researching into the state's record on welfare legislation. He has pushed into every cranny of the individual's welfare problem conceivable — to him.

But his expertise ends there. He has never had to deal with the larger ramifications of public welfare. He cannot avail himself of the counsel and contacts of groups like GAIN (Guaranteed Annual Income Now) simply because he has never heard of them.

One of the jobs of the School was to help him and other neighborhood organizers to see their limitations. Johnson's expertise in dealing with specific welfare problems was exchanged for information on work being done on the national scene

relevant to his local objectives.

Not every Movement person, however, is convinced that there can be a fair exchange of insights between an already-active organizer and the School. One such critic is Robert Lucas, now chairman of Chicago's CORE, who describes last summer's flare-ups on the West Side as a "revolution." He has been a CORE activist since 1962.

"None of the 'radical organizations' were asked to be a part of the School. We're suspicious — it looks as if they're coming in to keep the black people cool. But they got to remember, it ain't always hip to let your views be known. So, even though the surface may be smooth now, you know, Negroes use 'trickology'."

He explained the term. "Ghetto mothers operate sometimes behind the scenes. They may publicly condemn rioting but tell their sons to get what they can 'when the action goes down.' I don't believe the School's interested in organizing these people."

However, even the brochures being circulated by the School tell a very different story. On the cover of one, Marina Towers — Chicago's newest symbol of progress — is caught in a spectacular, cloud-piercing shot. Above and below the picture are quotes: "the man gets his takin' ours" and "ain't no nigger-mother-f---in' police." It would be hard to imagine a more nitty-gritty show of awareness of the embittered attitudes bred in and by the ghetto. The School seems to have both concern and knowledge of its "constituencies." It is, after all, made up largely of ghetto-dwellers and ghetto-workers from its decision-making Agenda Committee to its teaching staff.

Oakland is an all-Negro community on the South Side which has many of the problems that the School wants to attack. It is bounded on one side by a high-rise interracial complex and on the opposite edge by the fifteen-room homes of University of Chicago professors. Lake Michigan paralyzes any thought of eastward expansion. So, as urban renewal continues, its residents can only move out of their community.

Whole blocks have been razed here. The kiss of death, small billboards saying "This Site Will Provide Homes for the Citizens of Chicago," dot the area. Half-demolished buildings scar

*(Continued on page forty)*

## Will The Real University of Illinois Please Stand Up?

*A staff report on the steps which led the  
University to deny dissent and freedom of inquiry on its campus*

When Dean of Students Stanton Millet of the University of Illinois first withheld action in 1966 on the application of the campus DuBois Club because the Attorney General of the United States had filed a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board to require the national organization of the W. E. B. DuBois Club to register as a "Communist front" group, the stage was set for a drawn out confrontation which would besmirch the name of the University and would benefit no one.

Initially, the Board followed a policy of common sense. When President David D. Henry presented the issue to the General Policy Committee of the Board of Trustees in December 1966, the Committee determined, "while the Attorney General has filed a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board to require the national organization of the W. E. B. DuBois Club to register as a Communist front group, that agency has not yet heard the matter on its merits. Since the material which the Attorney General may have in support of his petition is not available to the University, there is no way for the University at this time to make a valid independent judgment concerning the charges. It is also clear that (1) the local petitioning group has denied affiliation with the national body, and (2) the constitution of the petitioning group states purposes which are unobjectionable by University regulations and which do not in any way identify the group as a subversive or seditious organization."

Following the subsequent approval of this Report by the Board of Trustees by a vote of 5 to 3 (the one absent trustee also favored the Report), the Illinois State Senate censured this action of the Board with only Senator Paul Simon casting a negative vote.

President Henry then requested that administrative action on the CuBois Club be postponed and the matter was taken up again by the Board's General Policy Committee.

Meanwhile, however, the seating of newly elected trustees took place. Three new Republican members were seated in March 1967 and a new board president in the person of Wayne Johnson was installed.

A new report by Dean Millet was presented by President Henry. It asserted that *informal* connections had *now* been found to exist between the local and the national, including interlocking memberships, and that the national officers acknowledged the interconnection. The General Policy Committee reversed itself and now recommended

that "the Administration be requested not to approve the petition from the local student group." The Board accepted the recommendations and banned the DuBois Club.

At that time, the Champaign-Urbana campus had about 29,000 students. The DuBois Club had 13 members. Through its Board of Trustees the University enunciated its belief that these 13 members could "subvert" the democratic ideology of the remaining 28,987 students if it would grant the organization recognition as a campus group. Of course, the 13 did remain on campus and were free to propagate their views.

The sad submission to a McCarthyistic Illinois Senate was too humiliating for the student body. In rebellion they invited long-time Chicago Communist Louis Diskin to address the students. This action was also meant to challenge Illinois' discriminatory Clabaugh Act which denies to the faculty and students of the University of Illinois their right to hear certain groups and individuals. Curiously, Diskin was permitted to speak on campus over a University-provided loudspeaker system to more than 2,000 students.

According to Franklyn S. Haiman, professor and department chairman at Northwestern University, the Clabaugh Act is unconstitutional because of vagueness, it violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, it denies the right of speech on the basis of a speaker's organizational affiliations, is a form of prior censorship, and flies directly in the face of the free speech clause of the First Amendment itself. In spite of these cogent arguments before the Illinois House Committee on Higher Education, the Illinois General Assembly upheld this law, although it refused to widen its application. As of today, the University of Illinois still is the only state institution restricted by the Clabaugh Act.

Following the March vote, the Board decided in April to talk it over once more with students and faculty. Since then three closed meetings have been held with University representatives. At this writing, no University action has been taken to correct its vote of March, which denied the essential purpose of a community of learning.

Howard Clement, prominent Chicago attorney and currently a trustee, was President of the University of Illinois Board up to the vote which denied recognition to the Du Bois Club. Before giving up the presidency, Clement exhorted his colleagues — in vain — to uphold the spirit of dissent. Irving Dilliard, former trustee and currently Ferris

Professor in the Council of Humanities at Princeton University also supports the rights of the University of Illinois community. Clement's and Dilliard's observations follow:



**HOWARD CLEMENT:**

**" . . . . It never has been, is not now, and never will be, the proper function of a University to shelter its students from exposure to unpopular ideas. If such freedom is not preserved in**

this environment, we shall never succeed in retaining it elsewhere. Retention of this characteristic of our academic communities is inexorably bound up with our concept of a free society. It is extremely important that we truly *believe* that our greatest strength as a society lies in open and free expression. The moment we lose faith, and begin to restrict such freedom, in the erroneous belief that we will be the stronger for it, we have tipped the balance in a direction of oppression and the eventual loss of the freedoms we erroneously believe we are protecting.

"Let me quickly add that I am not advocating the *teaching* of sedition or subversion — obviously there are limits to that which can be tolerated even in the realm of ideas in a free society, even as there are in the realm of conduct. Free speech, necessarily is not a blank check. The fact that it was necessary for me to promptly add the limitation just stated is indicative of my sensitivity to the great propensity of many to misinterpret and lift out of context statements of those who hold different points of view on significant issues of the day. Too many, today, trade on or conform to misunderstandings of the public for their own partisan purposes. I am reminded of a retort attributed to Dr. Hutchins when he was President of the University of Chicago, who, when having been asked by an irate woman representing a patriotic organization, "Dr. Hutchins, you don't mean to say that you teach Communism at the University," replied, "Yes, madam, and we also teach cancer in the Medical School." . . . .

"Superimposed upon the backdrop of the American tradition of free speech, and wide-ranging political and ideological spectrum which exists within this environment, are such basic precepts in our legal system as the presumption of innocence until proven guilty. This concept is somewhat better understood than the concept which provides for protection against self-incrimination, but, nevertheless, we tend to apply it unevenly. We tend to apply a stronger presumption of innocence to those with whom we can identify than those whom we regard as being different from ourselves for such reasons as race, creed or color, for example. Likewise, one who applies this standard of presumption of innocence to an *alleged* Communist may be immediately regarded as "soft on Communism," or perhaps even a "weak sister." On the other hand, one who applies this same standard of a presumption of innocence to an outwardly respectable businessman who is alleged to have engaged in criminal activity, is regarded as a fair-minded, level-headed citizen. . . .

"Obviously, the differences with which we are dealing on these questions are *not* the differences between the shades of black and white. Rather they fall within a gray area. I say this, notwithstanding the viewpoint of the zealots on both sides of the line, who regard those of a differing view as dedicated enemies of the state. In a gray area, this is nonsense. One who takes his stand on one side of the line can be as much a friend of academic freedom and free speech, in the overall view, as one who takes his stand on the other side of the line. If the line, however, is gradually moved in one direction or the other by recurrent decisions, then it becomes apparent that the differences between philosophies are real and

meaningful. To call one who stands on one side of the line "unpatriotic," as against one who stands on the other side is a favorite tactic of militant groups, which have, throughout history, sought to apply excessive cures which have been greater evils than those which they were, ostensibly, designed to alleviate. Adlai E. Stevenson had this in mind when he said, 'to strike freedom of the mind with the fist of patriotism is an old and ugly subtlety. . . .'

"Let us reason together to find the better way, and avoid the pitfalls typified by the woman who closed her communication to me on the DuBois Club with the statement: 'I am not signing my full name — I am afraid of Communists — they stop at nothing, and I am not sure but what you may be one, too.'"



**IRVING DILLIARD:**

**" . . . . It is entirely true, . . . that the Attorney General has called the national DuBois organization 'a Communist front.' However accusation by a public official, even if he is Attorney**

General, is not equal to conviction under Due Process. If American Due Process consisted only of unproved accusations; our system would be closer to Hitler's Nazi Germany than to the ideal of justice under the law, presided over by impartial judges, that the Founding Fathers envisioned for us.

"That is why the Attorney General's accusation will be investigated and reviewed by the Subversive Activities Control Board. Even if the Subversive Activities Control Board upholds the accusation by the Attorney General, this listing is not necessarily final. The listed organization has the right to sue in Federal Court and to get its name removed if it can prove that it is innocent of the charge. Some blacklisted organizations have won cases and had their names removed. This was true of a taxpayers' organization, headed by the longtime conservative Republican Congressman George Bender of Ohio, which for some odd reason turned up on the Attorney General's list of allegedly subversive groups.

" . . . . I do not need to accept a single precept of the DuBois Club in order to believe that suppressing it is far more harmful to the University of Illinois than permitting it to hold meetings that very few students would normally attend. . . . Suppression from whatever motives is a violation of student and faculty free speech and free assembly at the University of Illinois. It is a violation of these basic freedoms for the plain and simple reason that it does restrict, limit and reduce the opportunity for free expression and interchange of opinions. . . .

"We need to ask ourselves this question: 'Do we actually believe in free speech in the United States?' If our answer is 'Yes,' then we are not afraid of the free exchange of ideas. Then we say with that great American patriot, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, thrice-wounded soldier in the Civil War: ' . . . if there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought — not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate.'

" . . . . no ideas, however objectionable, which a handful of students might discuss at a DuBois Club meeting would do the injury that the University of Illinois inflicts on itself when it tells the entire student body and faculty that certain ideas are forbidden to them. For then, in the mistaken thought of opposing dictatorship, the University uses the dictatorial iron hand against itself. That stifles speech in its natural home, the free and inquiring company of teachers and students. And that is to usher in thought control ourselves. How can anyone who thinks seriously about the consequences approve such a course in the free United States of America?"



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## COMING IN FOCUS/MIDWEST

- \* You may want to watch for our coming issue which will deal with problem areas in the arts: the theater, the symphony, educational television, arts council, contemporary art, and other timely (and controversial) subjects.
- \* Another coming issue — which, we hope, won't cost the author his job — will be an insider's story of the dubious activities of competing teacher groups. We anticipate publishing in the same issue several articles on the quality and policies of several metropolitan police forces.
- \* In the political field, we are working on the 1967 State Voting Records Special Issue which will list all key bills and the complete voting records of the General Assemblies of Illinois and Missouri on these bills.
- \* Of course, there are many other features in preparation: among them the attitudes of students at the University of Missouri, a short piece of satire by a prison inmate and cartoons on prison humor by another inmate. . . . also poems by F. D. Reeve, Dave Etter, and translations of poetry by Dora M. Pettinella .... short stories . . . art works.
- \* And there is always "Out of Focus." (For example, did you know that shortly after the Mideast war, Arab and Israeli officers attended the same preparatory course for the 10-month session of the U. S. Army's Command and General Staff College . . . did you know the Cape Girardeau Southeast Missourian declared, " . . . if the Russians do launch a (sic) intensive investigation (on UFOs) they will still be lagging behind the U. S., just as they are in the space race . . ." Well, for more tidbits, see the coming issues.)

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## POEMS

### *THE COW* / Knute Skinner

There's a white cow standing upon the hill,  
surely the whitest cow I shall ever see.  
As usual with cows she is eating grass.  
Nothing strange about that, except that the light,  
the white light of the sun increases *her* white  
until she seems like a moon reflecting the sun,  
a cow-shaped moon newly materialized  
to dazzle upon the rise of a grassy hill.  
Perhaps she is the cow that jumped over the moon,  
but how much grass can she nonchalantly bite  
with that white light breaking upon her body?  
O, now she raises her head and, striking a pose,  
commands the field with a curve of her delicate tail.  
And so I see that she has become a goddess  
exact and appreciating the homage  
owed to a white spirit by darker creatures.  
Those dull cows browsing in brown below her,  
mere cows, I see that they cannot comprehend  
how their appearance enhances the white goddess.  
And yet their heads are lowered in due respect.  
She is their deity as she is mine,  
although I see her only from my distance.  
I see her only through my grimy window.  
Suppose I left my papers and left my desk,  
walked through the garden, crossed the old stone wall,  
slogged through the swamp at the bottom of the hill,  
then with lowered eyes I could approach that whiteness.  
Would I be touched to some extent by the sunlight,  
and would my eyes be blinded with revelation?  
Or would I find cowdung beneath my feet,  
and would she and I eat grass for the rest of our lives?

### *TIGERS IN RED WEATHER* / Thomas McAfee

#### 1. *Einstein:*

In Japan, backed by  
some elegant mountains,  
you said no man would be  
your ricksha animal.  
— Even though you walked  
very slowly  
and the dignitaries  
had to wait.

#### 2. *Klee:*

A world of children, under ten,  
is not enough  
of a world. We need  
more men  
with notions of red weather —  
as well as birds and clouds  
and children  
upside-down.  
Where's up?

### *SUBURBANITE* / David Cornel DeJong

I cycle through this plat  
and no one pretends I am  
splay-footed and flap  
a beaver tail, even as  
I howl a confidence so loud  
that it would lay  
city folks out cold.

I keep following myself  
close, very close, myself  
as another pointing dog.  
A bit of love rattled  
off one of the pedals  
back there, but I forgot  
to stop to see  
what color it was.

Am halted by a minion  
of 100% uniform guiding  
twenty kiddies across  
into a gaping park.  
"You oughtn't go friggin'  
on an open bike," he shouts,  
"Mister, I mean, you oughtn't  
run innocents down on a friggin'  
bike, now ought you, Sir?"  
Then the journey goes  
on politically clean,  
unblemished and orthodox.

# Conflict In The Church

by

JAMES HITCHCOCK

● The Archdiocese  
of Chicago

● The Archdiocese  
of Kansas City

● The Archdiocese  
of St. Louis

*James Hitchcock, an assistant professor of history at St. Louis University, has appeared previously in FOCUS/Midwest ("The Liberal Position," No. 34.).*

## THE CHICAGO REPORT:

In the years before the Second Vatican Council, when even the most optimistic progressive Catholics did not foresee the sweeping changes which were soon to be decreed, it had become virtually a cliché to say that the bishops, priests, and laymen of the Midwest were the greatest hope for change in the American Church. To a much greater extent than on either coast there was found here a willingness to try out new ideas within the Church and an openness towards secular society contrasting pleasantly with the attitudes which led the Catholics of Boston, for example, to be described as "a majority which acts like a beleaguered minority."

The archdiocese of Chicago, with two million Catholics, is the largest unit of the Church in America. Inevitably, in such a large and heterogeneous body (including virtually every ethnic strain) there are strong forces of conservatism. But on the whole Chicago has been considered one of the bright spots of the American Church. Mundelein Seminary has educated progres-

sive-minded priests from many parts of the country, and social-justice movements like the Catholic Worker and the Catholic Interracial Conference developed at a time when such groups were considered almost communistic elsewhere in the country.

This condition necessarily implies the presence of progressive bishops in Chicago. Cardinal George J. Mundelein, who died in 1940, was a German immigrant who was vigorously pro-New Deal and anti-Hitler. Auxiliary Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, now retired, was an early opponent of segregation and was the only American bishop to speak against the late Senator McCarthy at the peak of his power. Cardinal Samuel A. Stritch, who ruled the archdiocese from 1940 to 1958, was not particularly liberal but was generally permissive, allowing grass roots movements in Chicago to develop naturally. Cardinal Albert G. Meyer (1958-65) was one of the outstanding American prelates at the Second Vatican Council, serving as a spokesman and leader of the liberal group.

## THE KANSAS CITY REPORT:

On paper probably no Catholic diocese in the United States has a more impressive record of modernization than that of Kansas City-St. Joseph (with one significant exception, Oklahoma City-Tulsa).

At the same time, despite undoubted achievements, the Kansas City-St. Joseph diocese manifests all the contradictions and counter-tendencies found almost everywhere in the Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council. The progressives, or those who seek the full implementation of "the spirit of the Council," seem to be in the ascendancy. But progress is by no means steady and uniform, and its eventual triumph is by no means assured.

As it is in virtually every diocese, the key to the situation of the Church in western Missouri is in the personality and policies of its bishop, the Most Rev. Charles H. Helmsing, a 59-year-old St. Louisan who has headed the diocese since 1962, when he succeeded Bishop John P. Cody, now cardinal-archbishop of Chicago. Before coming to Kansas City, Bishop Helmsing was private secretary to the late Archbish-

op Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis, auxiliary bishop of St. Louis, and bishop of Springfield-Cape Girardeau, Mo.

"The most puzzling aspect of the Church in Kansas City," according to one layman, "is the apparent disparity between the bishop's policies, which are generally liberal and progressive, and his personality. He has done many good things which indicate that he is truly in the spirit of the Council. But in private interviews and public speeches and sermons he seems still an old-style prelate with little comprehension of a changing world."

Some analysts resolve this contradiction by suggesting that the bishop's progressivism is rooted precisely in his conservatism — as a loyal son of the Church, he undertakes to initiate reforms which have been decreed even if he does not fully believe in them or comprehend them.

For whatever reasons, however, he has initiated reforms which are almost radical by the general standards of the conservative American Church. In July, for example, ground was broken for a building to serve as headquarters of the new St. Mark's Ecumenical Par-



The present archbishop of Chicago, named a cardinal in July, is Cardinal John P. Cody, a 59-year-old native of St. Louis who is thought by many Catholics to be the most powerful bishop in the American Church. Cardinal Cody has ties with high Vatican officials which date back to his student days in Rome in the 1920's. This alone would render him suspect to many liberal Catholics, who consider one of the chief fruits of the Council to be the loosening of Roman control over the rest of the Church. However, Cardinal Cody's actions since coming to Chicago in 1965 have given solid form to what were merely vague misgivings.

Before his appointment to Chicago, Cardinal Cody served as auxiliary bishop of St. Louis, bishop of Kansas City - St. Joseph, and archbishop of New Orleans. In the last diocese he took a firm stand against racial segregation, carrying out policies laid down by his predecessor, and aroused the frenzied wrath of many Catholics. In Chicago, he inherited what many people consider the nation's most difficult

racial situation; there his actions have failed to please either liberals or conservatives.

During the open-housing marches in 1966, he first gave strong support to the demonstrations but then urged their cessation at a crucial moment, an action which led angry civil rights leaders to charge betrayal. Subsequently, he expressed his disapproval of priests and nuns playing militant civil rights roles, but he has not attempted to forbid their participation. In the minds of many Chicagoans this ambivalence permeates the archbishop's entire racial policy.

### The CIC and Cody

The Cardinal's relations with the venerable Catholic Interracial Council brought to a head all the misgivings which liberals had developed about him and incidentally illustrated certain patterns in his administration which were to recur.

Despite the fact that the CIC for more than 20 years had enjoyed some measure of support from the archdiocese, dating back to a time when "integration" was not even a familiar

word to most people, the official directory of the archdiocese issued in March omitted the group from the list of Catholic organizations. Priests in the chancery office explained curtly that the group was "interdenominational."

Earlier the archbishop had assigned the two long-time chaplains of the organization — Msgr. John M. Egan and Msgr. Daniel J. Cantwell — to parish work, effectively terminating their active involvement with the CIC. However, as public criticisms mounted, Cardinal Cody named a new "spiritual advisor" in May — Father William Devereux, a middle-aged pastor of a multi-racial parish who is regarded as a cautious liberal. The appointment seemed to restore good relations with the archdiocese, at least formally. It was made in response to a request from the CIC.

The incident seems to illustrate two characteristics of Cardinal Cody's method of operation — his drive for centralized control and his sensitivity to publicity. Friends of the CIC believe its sudden fall from grace was due less to its actions (it has been a

ish in the Wayne Miner Housing project in Kansas City. The parish will be the joint undertaking of the Catholic diocese, the Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church, and the United Church of Christ. As planned the parish will have a totally unified life, except for worship, which will be held separately on Sundays, but in the same building. Joint religious instruction classes are planned, as well as integrated parish activities in every other area.

In August, the Catholic press reported that officials in Rome had questioned the Church's participation in the venture and had tried to discourage it. Bishop Helmsing, however, was said to be firmly committed to the project.

Progressive Catholics all over the United States consider St. Mark's the most promising and exciting ecumenical venture yet undertaken in America. It seems the first significant effort to get ecumenism out of the rut of polite discussion and into the arena of action. Several Protestant ecumenical parishes exist in the United States, but this is believed to be the first in which the Catholic Church has agreed to participate.

Bishop Helmsing has also given some support — \$5,000 a year for three years, with the possibility of an extension — to the Council for United Action set up last year by Saul Alinsky's community organizers from Chicago. CUA, following methods which Alinsky has used in Chicago, Rochester, N. Y., and elsewhere, seeks to organize existing neighborhood groups in the inner-city into a cohesive and militant body able to exert influence with the city government and the local power structure.

Alinsky's groups are understandably anathema to many white people, since they encourage and channel Negro militancy and make the poor visible and vociferous. There has been considerable criticism of Bishop Helmsing from priests and laymen who resent his subsidizing what they regard as "rabble-rousers." Characteristically, the bishop's support is not in the form of a diocesan grant, but of a personal gift; apparently he does not feel that the diocese should officially sanction a controversial organization.

The effects of CUA's presence are not as yet fully evident. Hence, the involvement of the Church and its representatives in militant organizing is

not clear either. Several priests recently participated in a CUA march on a police station to protest alleged brutality towards Negroes, and there have been no reported episcopal reactions to this. On the other hand a Benedictine monk who has agitated on behalf of his inner-city parishioners has been warned by Bishop Helmsing against involvement in "politics." As yet, however, there has been no move to transfer him, which is indicative of Bishop Helmsing's generally permissive style of governing.

Also in the ecumenical spirit, Bishop Helmsing recently announced that the diocese would join the newly formed Metropolitan Inter-Church Agency (MICA), which replaces the old Kansas City Council of Churches. Formal Catholic membership in such inter-faith groups is quite rare. Bishop Helmsing is a member of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity and of the American bishop's ecumenical commission and is on close terms with individual Protestant leaders, especially Episcopal Bishop Edward R. Welles of West Missouri.

### The Bishop and the NCR

Within the American Catholic

moderately activist group) than to the fact that it operated independent of chancery control. "In Chicago whatever is 'Catholic' has to be under the archbishop's control," one layman explained. Most people also believe a new chaplain would never have been appointed if the story had not been publicized. (During the interim the Cardinal and his representatives were pointedly absent from a CIC dinner at which Msgr. Cantwell received an award. The official archdiocesan newspaper, the *New World*, ignored the dinner also, although with the appointment of Father Devereux the paper has announced that it will report CIC activities.)

At present, the civil rights program of the archdiocese is under the direction of Father Edward M. Egan, a young priest whom civil rights workers regard as intelligent and sincere but inexperienced in racial problems. He was a chancery official before his appointment and is thought to be safe and cautious.

### Criticized By Both

To some extent the archbishop's policy on race seems to have gained

for him the worst of both worlds. He has deliberately cultivated the image of full commitment to the Negro cause, and as in New Orleans he is bitterly denounced by some laymen as a "nigger lover." (In some parishes there is an organized practice of dropping buttons into the collection basket on Sundays when the priest preaches on race.) When the Illinois Senate passed a routine resolution in July congratulating the archbishop on his elevation to the cardinalate, two Chicago legislators voted against it. One was John J. Lanigan, a Republican and a Catholic, who observed that "in my district the man they dislike most, next to Martin Luther King, is Archbishop Cody."

For several months a right-wing Chicago laymen's group, Concerned Parents, has been working for the suppression of a new children's catechism being used in parochial schools. The group has collected 1,250 signatures on a petition against the catechism, because it calls Dr. King "a brave Christian" and cites his work as an example of love and justice in action.

Auxiliary Bishop William E. Mc Manus, superintendent of schools, has publicly defended the catechism as necessary "to teach the Catholic Faith's relevance to contemporary human problems." The book was written by two Chicago priests, Father Gerard Weber and Father James Kilgallon.

The leaders of Concerned Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Richard White, are affiliated also with the Wanderer Forum of St. Paul, a Catholic organization which stands on the extreme right politically and religiously.

The controversy over the catechism has, however, led to the promise of certain changes which could benefit liberals more than conservatives. In the wake of criticisms from the right, Cardinal Cody has promised to give laymen a greater voice in school affairs and to open school board meetings to laymen. There is no evidence that he has considered surrendering to critics of the catechism.

On the other hand, Catholics, both lay and clerical, who are involved in inner-city work doubt the archbishop's real commitment to their cause. Part

Church itself, Kansas City has become most well known as the home of *The National Catholic Reporter*, a lay-edited weekly newspaper which has provoked enthusiastic praise from reformers and bitter criticism from conservatives for its independent commentary on happenings in the Church. (Resentment of the paper seems to center less on its often critical editorials than on its penchant for publicizing ecclesiastical news which many people would like to see remain buried.)

*The Reporter* was started in 1964 by Robert Hoyt, then the editor of the official diocesan newspaper of Kansas City-St. Joseph. Bishop Helmsing initially approved the proposal for an independent, lay-edited paper, contributed \$1,000 to its inception, and for two years continued Hoyt on the diocesan payroll and allowed *The Reporter* to use offices in the chancery building. Last summer the paper moved its offices a few blocks away, and a new official diocesan paper, *The New People*, was established under totally different editorship, although also

laymen.

Some Kansas Citians believe that Bishop Helmsing, who is regarded as earnest and rather unworldly, did not fully understand the implications of an independent lay editorship at the time when he gave approval to the paper. Within a few months of its inception he began to show signs of dissatisfaction and reportedly tried on several occasions to influence editorial policy.

In retrospect, friends of the paper believe it is remarkable that a man as cautious as Bishop Helmsing withstood for so long a time the sometimes intense pressures which fellow bishops and irate priests and laymen exerted on him to move against the paper. The move, when it came earlier this year, was also relatively mild. It consisted of a simple public statement that the paper did not in any way speak officially for the Church or the bishop, coupled with some passing criticisms of its "lack of respect for authority."

The specific issues which caused the final rupture between the bishop and *The Reporter* were two on which he is considered quite sensitive and

conservative — clerical celibacy and birth control. The articles to which he reportedly objected most were a national poll by a Jesuit sociologist suggesting that a majority of priests favor a relaxation of the celibacy laws and the publishing of a number of articles dealing with the possibility of a relaxed Catholic stand on birth control.

Bishop Helmsing's relations with *The Reporter* seem to some Kansas Citians typical of his general position on reform — promising beginnings followed by apparent caution and misgivings. The paper could probably not have been started without his assistance, yet ultimately he felt required to repudiate an institution more prestigious than any in his diocese.

Although the attitude of the bishop is the key to the future of reform in most dioceses, it is never the sole factor, even in a hierarchically structured institution like the Catholic Church. In Kansas City as elsewhere the progress of reform is greatly affected by the rank and file of clergy and laity, who can thwart the desires of even the

of their dissatisfaction is symbolic, stemming from the fact that Cardinal Meyer was regularly present at parochial functions in the ghetto, while Cardinal Cody is seldom seen. The substance of their complaints, however, is money, as it is with some inner-city Catholics in St. Louis. The charge is almost universally made in the inner-city that an archdiocese with immense financial resources is diverting relatively little to the ghetto.

Some civil rights groups also question the archbishop's sincerity. In December, the Austin Community Organization charged that the clergy of Austin were giving no help to the cause of open housing. Some priests admitted privately that this was true and said they were waiting for a signal from the chancery office. Father Egan, however, claims that he has effectively pressured some real estate dealers into abandoning discriminations. For ten years to come the archbishop's major concern will be Project Renewal, a plan to raise the staggering sum of \$250,000,000 for a variety of purposes. The major effect of these, according to critics, will be

to aid segregation, in that the bulk of the money will finance expansion of the Church in the all-white suburbs.

Cardinal Cody has, however, made tangible efforts to educate the white suburbanites on the race problem. In January, he announced a comprehensive program to be enacted in every parish, involving parish commissions on interracial justice, speeches and workshops, and visits between Negro and white Catholics. A timetable was set up for the program, but at least on paper it is more ambitious and more pointed than anything yet tried in any other diocese. A similar program was announced last year in St. Louis, but the details were left vague and most parishes are ignoring it.

### **Interferes With Academic Freedom**

Cardinal Cody has also provoked in Chicago a problem totally non-existent in St. Louis — interference by the archdiocese in the academic freedom of Catholic colleges. The most notorious instance of this occurred last year, when after two private expressions of disapproval by the archbishop, St.

Xavier College canceled a planned forum involving several prominent modern theologians. After news of the cancellation reached the press, the archbishop denied any involvement in the affair, and the forum was held. Subsequently, however, he is reported to have used his influence to have Father T. Patrick Burke, an organizer of the forum, removed from the archdiocese. He is presently teaching in Philadelphia.

In March of this year a fresh controversy broke out over a directive requiring all priests coming into Chicago from outside the archdiocese to obtain approval from the chancery office. The order specifically exempted military chaplains but specifically included academic personnel. Faculty members at several local Catholic colleges protested this rule as potentially aimed at controversial clerical lecturers. The archbishop dismissed their charge as groundless but failed to reply to several requests from them for an interview. Subsequently, it was revealed that Father Peter O'Reilly, a priest of the Chicago archdiocese who led the faculty strike at St. John's

most determined bishop by sheer inertia.

### **The Laity Is Uninvolved**

In Kansas City the laity are described by those most concerned about reform as essentially uncommitted and perhaps uninterested in the great issues which presently divide the Church. "There is a small minority which is bitterly, almost hysterically, against all change," one man said, "and a somewhat larger minority which is enthusiastic for it. But most people simply do not get aroused." Some laymen argue that Bishop Helmsing bears at least partial responsibility for this. "He has put into effect some very good programs, but he has not undertaken to articulate their meaning for his people. There is a strong absence of any real spirit of renewal."

One notable exception to this is the Council of Catholic Laity formed earlier this year by a small group of laymen led by an attorney, James T. Seigfreid. Unlike the Chicago Conference of Laymen also set up this year, the Kansas City group is not designed to be a totally independent lay organiza-

tion publicly critical of the hierarchy. Its significance lies in the fact that it marks a repudiation in effect of the old Diocesan Council of Catholic Men, an official body existing in most dioceses, which is traditionally run by the "professional laymen," the conservative, loyal Catholics always ready to defer to clerical authority.

Seigfreid was the head of the executive board of the DCCM when it voted to dissolve and reconstitute itself this year, partly for the symbolic purpose of dissociating itself from the conservative, docile image of the older lay organization. As yet the CCL has not defined itself, but it is expected to be a channel for a more independent lay voice than has existed in the past or exists in most other dioceses.

In a few parishes progressive pastors have allowed the laity a significant voice in parish affairs, and Bishop Helmsing has permitted this. (It is also believed that he could have prevented the dissolution of the DCCM if he had sought to.) However, he has done little of a positive nature to encourage lay initiative or lay authority.

### **THE ARCHDIOCESE OF KANSAS CITY**

A case in point is the diocesan school board, which includes some lay members, one of whom is elected by the federation of parent-teachers' associations, the rest appointed by the bishop. Unlike most such boards in most dioceses, the Kansas City board holds monthly meetings open to the public. However, many laymen question the extent to which it permits an effective lay voice. Earlier this year, when the board authorized a new accounting system for the schools, the superintendent, Msgr. Michael F. McAuliffe, and the diocesan comptroller, Msgr. Bernard J. Koenig, refused to accept it and were ultimately upheld by the bishop. On the other hand, protests channeled through the board were effective in preventing the closing of St. Ann's school at Excelsior Springs. In the final analysis, however, laymen seem to have little influence over a school system which they support financially, and in every other way.

The president of the school board is

University in New York last year, had been denied permission to take a faculty appointment at Illinois Teachers College. In May, Father O'Reilly was offered a position at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, but Archbishop Cody "invited" him to return to Chicago to become an assistant pastor. The Chicago Priests' Association (see below) now has the conflict under advisement.

In other areas as well the archbishop displays an authoritarian mentality which strikes progressives as a denial of the spirit of the Council. The Chicago archdiocese is probably not as advanced liturgically as St. Louis, but warnings have gone out to some innovators. The archbishop is also less than enthusiastic about joint services with Protestants; all such events must be specifically approved by the chancery office and generally may not be held in Catholic churches. Cardinal Cody appears to loathe unfavorable publicity, and last year was able to persuade the *Chicago Daily News* to quash a planned series of articles by Nicholas von Hoffman on the archdiocese, which later appeared in the *Washington Post*.

Opposition to Cardinal Cody seems more widespread, more intense, and above all more organized than opposition to almost any other American bishop. Much of this stems from unfavorable comparisons between him and Cardinal Meyer, who was liked and respected for his kindness and his tolerant administration, which permitted much autonomy and individual initiative. (This style had its drawbacks, as liberals concede. Cardinal Meyer tolerated certain racist pastors whom Archbishop Cody quickly removed.) When the new archbishop assumed direction of the see, a plan was already well formulated to set up the Association of Chicago Priests to deal with the chancery over clerical grievances and other problems. ("Not quite a union, but the closest thing to it in the United States," one priest said.) Archbishop Cody showed little disposition to further the plan, which Cardinal Meyer had been considering, and 400 priests, mostly under age 50, forced the issue in 1966 by forming the organization without permission. The archbishop then announced his support for the group. It now has well over 1,000 members, and at its

May meeting debated a number of civil rights issues vigorously and passed several resolutions in support of greater action by the Church in this area.

The Cardinal is said to be still unfriendly to the organization, although he has publicly praised it as an aid to effective government of the archdiocese. The priests in turn have so far avoided any public conflict with him and are proceeding cautiously.

### Lay Group Opposes Project Renewal

A less immediately successful effort at organized initiative by the rank and file came in April, when a group met to form the Chicago Conference of Laymen, the only organization of its kind in the Country. The group's announced intention was to serve as an effective voice of lay opinion independent of the formal structure of the Church. At its first meeting, the Conference questioned certain aspects of Project Renewal, including its commitment to a steadily expanding Catholic school system, its failure to incorporate sophisticated analyses of metropolitan problems, the use of professional fund-raising groups, and the failure to

Msgr. Martin J. Froeschl of Independence, who is regarded by some laymen as conservative and authoritarian. They especially question his apparent lack of interest in the problems of the inner city and in integration. Several inner-city schools which could not support themselves have been closed despite protests by parishioners. Msgr. Froeschl rejects charges that this is a policy of "survival of the richest" but made the astounding statement, in a March interview in *The New People*, that "the School Office is not essentially concerned with social problems, nor the School Board. This is a broader picture than we can be concerned with. We don't have the time nor the skill for that."

Msgr. Froeschl's lack of understanding of the school problem is also evident in his proposal to the school board earlier this year that district boundaries be established for the diocesan high schools. The proposal was finally dropped after it was criticized for leading to *de facto* segregation. Msgr. Froeschl acknowledged that this possibility had not occurred to him when he made the suggestion.

In *The New People* interview, Msgr. Froeschl vigorously rejected the proposal that children be allowed to cross parish boundaries in order to bring about racial balance in the schools. Although conceding that the plan might be acceptable in the inner-city (where presumably only Negroes would be involved and integration would not be the result), he denied it any scope in the suburbs and concluded with a classic old-line authoritative pronouncement, "Parish lines are more important than integration."

### "Indifferent" Appointments

An obvious requirement for reform of the Church is not merely the decreeing of reform measures, but the appointment of progressive men to key positions, and in this respect Bishop Helmsing's record seems quite indifferent. He seems to follow no consistent policy of favoring either liberals or conservatives, which serves to perpetuate the uncertainties and contradictions of the situation.

An appointment which progressives generally found disappointing was the consecration in April of Msgr. Joseph

V. Sullivan, chancellor of the diocese, as auxiliary bishop and second-in-command. While not a rigid conservative, Bishop Sullivan is considered very unenthusiastic about reform and is thought to have been one of the people most responsible for Bishop Helmsing's repudiation of *The Reporter*.

On the other hand, the new chancellor is Msgr. William Baum, a Kansas City priest who formerly served on the American bishops' ecumenical commission in Washington. He has been recalled to his home diocese and has been named diocesan delegate to the new inter-church federation. Msgr. Baum is respected throughout the United States for his learning and his genuine commitment to ecumenism.

In general, the younger priests of the diocese are considered quite progressive. Most were educated at Conception Abbey near St. Joseph, an institution run by the Benedictine fathers which has been well abreast of the new currents in the Church. Defenders of Bishop Helmsing see him as genuinely permissive, giving scope to the reformers, but also not suppressing the older, more conservative clergy.



consult any significant number of laymen about the project and its priorities. The Conference also expressed "total dissatisfaction" with the Chicago parochial school system because of the lack of meaningful lay involvement in its operation.

The archbishop did not publicly advert to the existence of the new lay group, but the editor of the *New World*, Msgr. John M. Kelly, reacted with a signed editorial which shocked many people by its almost hysterical tone and its undisguised authoritarian tenor. He asserted that the laymen "should stop being a superbody of experts and watchdogs and should get acquainted with the less spectacular but more productive efforts of the rest of the faithful." To many laymen this seemed merely a reformulation of the cynical pre-conciliar bromide that "the duty of the layman is to pray and pay." Msgr. Kelly also puzzled members of the Conference by referring to them as "a small group," whereas they actually numbered 1,500.

On July 16, the lay group held public "hearings" on Project Renewal, attended by 450 people. Professionals competent in various aspects of met-

ropolitan planning testified and expressed doubts about the Project. *Commonweal* magazine compared the laymen's actions to the historic protests against taxation without representation.

Although the most frequent criticisms of the plan center on its alleged lack of concern for the problems of integration, the archbishop lauded the project in April in an appearance with civil rights leaders before the Greater Lawndale Conservation Commission. (At the same time he expressed full support for priests involved in poverty programs.) Critics believe one of the worst facets of the Project is its tendency to overshadow all other Catholic activities in Chicago, as indicated in the archbishop's speech. They also object to the use of the term "renewal" for a fund-raising program, after it has been hallowed as a designation for reform of the Church in the spirit of the Vatican Council.

### The Spirit of Revolt

The spirit of revolt is strong in Chicago, as it is in many other places in the contemporary Church. Just as the Midwest was the center of slow progress before the Vatican Council,

so now it is probably the center of the sharpest conflicts between the authorities and the rank and file priests and laymen. The theory of "rising expectations" invoked by sociologists to explain revolutions is obviously applicable. As a layman writing recently in *Commonweal* said, "Before the monolithic structure of the Church began to crack we were very content with our lot: to be a Catholic was to be repressed. But Vatican II opened our eyes . . . Maybe some of us felt too free too soon, as subsequent events testify, but . . . we caught a glimpse of what our Catholicism could be. When the door closed on that sight we were left in a rebellious mood."

The expressions which this rebellious mood take will continue to vary widely. Among laymen and clerics, there is virtual certainty that the actions of the bishops will be subjected to continual critical scrutiny and their decrees frequently challenged. In many cases the protestor is injured. But in each such collision, even those in which the authorities are apparently victorious, the governing structure will also suffer — and thus change. ■

Some have interpreted his generally cautious words as an effort to compensate conservatives for his generally progressive actions.

Early in September, 23 priests of the diocese sent a letter to Missouri Senator Edward V. Long in which they urged him to vote against a tax increase on the grounds that "we could not in conscience pay a tax earmarked for deeper involvement in the war." The letter concluded, "We have decided now is the time to disavow the policy of escalation and killing and to promote the escalation of our domestic and foreign commitment for the improvement of life. As moral leaders of our community we must affirm that the main obstacle to such a policy is the Vietnam war which defines our nation's victory or defeat by the kill ratio."

The letter was instigated by two young priests but bore the signatures of older priests as well, including some chancery officials. It is a kind of document quite unusual among American priests.

Unlike many other bishops, whose great concern since the Council has

been to prevent liturgical "excesses," Bishop Helmsing last year sent a circular letter to all his priests chiding them on the slowness of liturgical reform in some parishes. There have been no known instances of priests being disciplined for liturgical experimentation, as there have been in St. Louis, for example. Masses in private homes among small groups of friends are permitted, although they are discouraged or forbidden elsewhere. However, in his funeral sermon for Cardinal Ritter in St. Louis in June, Bishop Helmsing stressed heavily the need of respect for authority and the need to curb excessive zeal for change.

Opening the "Year of Faith" proclaimed by Pope Paul on June 19, Bishop Helmsing included among his prayers the petition that those misled by "exaggerations" of Council teachings would cease to doubt their faith and would return to "unity and balance." Although he counterposed this petition with one calling on all Catholics to recognize renewal as the work of God, it seemed evident that his prayer was meant to focus again on liberal "excesses."

### THE ARCHDIOCESE OF KANSAS CITY

At present the formal program of renewal is centered in the diocesan synod, which is supposed to meet in December, but which many people think will have to be postponed to allow more time for preparation. The synod program is similar to Operation Renewal in St. Louis, in that numerous district commissions have been set up to make suggestions about all aspects of Church life. Individuals also have been encouraged to submit suggestions, and various specialized commissions have been established to deal with specific aspects of reform. Bishop Helmsing has shown genuine interest in the operation, and some important suggestions have so far emerged, but critics of the program insist that it is unwieldy and that pointed ideas tend to become obliterated in the maze of committees and reports. Some committees are believed to be doing good work, while others are barely functioning. The results seem likely to be mediocre and undramatic.

(Continued on next page)

Bishop Helmsing's moderation, coupled with his apparent natural aloofness from his people, have failed to arouse enthusiastic support for his administration, either from the right or the left. His style of operation has permitted real change, even if the commitment behind it seems less than total. There are few other bishops in America about whom as much can be said. ■

## THE ST. LOUIS REPORT:

Among the half-million Catholics of the archdiocese of St. Louis the most common subject of speculation this summer is the possible identity of their next archbishop, who will probably be named by Pope Paul VI before the end of the year.

For 21 years before his unexpected death from a heart attack on June 10, the archdiocese was governed by Cardinal Joseph E. Ritter (named a cardinal by Pope John XXIII in 1960), whose opposition to segregation and right-to-work laws, encouragement of modern church architecture and innovations in liturgy (the official ritual of the Church), warm relations with Protestant and Jewish leaders, and general openness to change made St. Louis one of the most progressive American dioceses long before the Second Vatican Council of 1962-65.

During the Council *The New Yorker's* pseudonymous Xavier Rynne, perhaps the most widely read of the Council reporters, wrote that Cardinal Ritter had been the most impressive American delegate. He spoke on almost every major issue, always on the side of reform, and used his influence behind the scenes to further reform measures. The St. Louis archdiocese came to be thought of as a model of reform for the entire country.

Nevertheless, for most people the forthcoming appointment probably has only temporary interest; they have no direct contact with their archbishop and are perhaps little affected by what he says or does. Catholics who are informed about ecclesiastical affairs, however, recognize that the character of the new prelate will probably have momentous consequences for the Church in the entire Midwest and beyond.

There are at present a handful of

known progressive bishops in the United States, and the appointment of one of these would be a signal that the relative liberalism of the Church in St. Louis would probably continue. These prelates especially include: Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of Atlanta; Bishop Ernest J. Primeau of Manchester, N. H.; Bishop John J. Wright of Pittsburgh; Bishop Victor J. Reed of Oklahoma City-Tulsa; and Bishop Charles A. Buswell of Pueblo, Colorado.

From the standpoint of the future of reform, Cardinal Ritter's death was untimely. Until June the Pope's official representative to the American Church — the Apostolic Delegate — was Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, who has been named a cardinal and has returned to Rome to accept a Vatican post. His advice, however, will no doubt still carry serious weight with the Pope in the choosing of a new archbishop for St. Louis. Cardinal Vagnozzi, formerly based in Washington, is an uncompromising ecclesiastical reactionary, opposed to virtually every major change of the Second Vatican Council. During his nine-year tenure in America (he was appointed by Pope John), he is thought to have often prevented the promotion of liberal priests to the office of bishop. Another voice which will no doubt have much influence is that of Cardinal John P. Cody, archbishop of Chicago, who is a former St. Louisan. Although not a reactionary, Cardinal Cody is also not a partisan of reform.

### Lay Voice Unwelcome

In late June, 37 St. Louisans — 30 laymen, five priests, one nun, and one brother, — presented a letter to the American bishop's conference expressing deep admiration for the late Cardinal and asking, in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, to be allowed a voice in the selection of his successor.

Before the letter was published, however, Auxiliary Bishop Glennon P. Flavin — who was about to leave St. Louis to assume new duties as bishop of Lincoln, Nebraska — and Msgr. James T. Curtin, archdiocesan superintendent of schools, attempted to discourage the project. They persuaded several of the priests and nuns involved not to sign the letter, although several priests allowed their signatures to remain. The incident gives some indication of the forces of reaction which

seem ready to assert themselves in the St. Louis archdiocese.

On July 22, a group of 33 laymen issued a public statement countering this petition and expressing confidence in the Church's "divinely established hierarchical structure." They termed the proposal "ill-advised" and expressed the belief that the majority of Catholics in the archdiocese "are presently satisfied with the way bishops are selected" i.e., by the Pope, after secret recommendations from other bishops.

Organizer of the counter-petition, which was sent to the National Council of Bishops, was Harvey J. Johnson, director of the Central Catholic Union of America, with headquarters in St. Louis. This organization has heavy German-American membership and has generally espoused a conservative political and economic philosophy through its magazine, *Social Justice Review*. Until the 1950's the official name of the organization was given in German, despite the fact that it is an American group.

Another signer of the petition was Dr. Charles Jost of Normandy, a prominent and vociferous right-winger. All but three of the signers reside in St. Louis suburbs. Here as elsewhere conservatism on political issues seems to be closely tied with conservatism on ecclesiastical issues.

Following the pattern most common in the American church in recent years, the government of the archdiocese of St. Louis will probably go to a moderate prelate who is not publicly identified as an enemy of reform, but is also not a recognized liberal. The thorough liberalization of the American hierarchy is thought to be unlikely until the present older generation of prelates — especially Cardinal Francis J. Spellman of New York and Cardinal James F. McIntyre of Los Angeles — have passed from the scene and a more liberal Apostolic Delegate has been appointed and has familiarized himself with the American church.

On July 5, Archbishop Luigi Raimondi was transferred from the post of Apostolic Delegate to Mexico to succeed Cardinal Vagnozzi. So far, little is known of his character or policies, although he is certain to be more liberal than his predecessor.

In recent weeks speculation about Cardinal Ritter's successor has centered on Archbishop James J. Byrne of Dubuque, who is considered rather

conservative. A name frequently mentioned as a possibility is that of 59-year-old Bishop Charles H. Helmsing of Kansas City-St. Joseph, who was Archbishop Ritter's private secretary in the late 1940's and then served under him as auxiliary bishop. Bishop Helmsing is believed to have been Cardinal Ritter's personal choice as his successor. In western Missouri he has compiled a progressive record, but strikes many persons there as being less than fully committed to reform. Preaching at Cardinal Ritter's funeral on June 15, he praised recent changes in the Church but chose as his scriptural text for the occasion a passage from St. Paul which stressed the need for obedience to authority. He warned against excesses of reform and criticized those who interpret Vatican II as a license for sweeping changes in the Church.

If Bishop Helmsing should in fact be appointed archbishop of St. Louis, his sermon would have immediate relevance, and there were priests in attendance at the funeral who probably thought his words were directed at them. For despite Cardinal Ritter's undoubted liberalism, there were those in the archdiocese, both clergy and lay, who believed that his enthusiasm for reform was cooling during the last year of his life. A group of highly placed priests seem determined to prevent what they consider excesses on the part of some other priests. These self-styled moderates (described by their critics as conservatives) are in definite ascendancy. Even a strongly reform-minded new archbishop would probably have difficulty imposing his ideas on a reluctant chancery office. (The chancery office is the bureaucracy of officials, mostly priests, who do much of the actual work of governing the archdiocese.) A cautious or conservative prelate will no doubt bring about further retrenchments, and this will have repercussions elsewhere, since St. Louis has been taken as a model by Catholics all over the country. In any case the prospects for a new period of dramatic reform, such as that in 1962-65, seem slight, at least for the foreseeable future. The liberal faction of the clergy is out of power, its leaders in obvious disfavor.

### Interim Rule Conservative

The administrator of the archdiocese until the appointment of a new archbishop is Auxiliary Bishop George

J. Gottwald, who is considered quite conservative. He is forbidden by Church law to alter any major policies of the previous archbishop, but will certainly not encourage or permit innovations during his tenure.

The liberal wing of the St. Louis clergy, those who regard the task of reform as having barely begun, was set back most severely during the past year by the reassignment, for disciplinary purposes, of several highly-placed priests who were thoroughly committed to continuing reform.

The man most harshly dealt with was Father David T. Thomas, a priest in his early forties who was serving in the strategic post of assistant chancellor of the archdiocese in charge of liturgical activities. In the spring of 1966, Father Thomas was exiled to the chaplaincy of a convent at rural O'Fallon, Missouri, and has been prohibited from speaking publicly, although he is permitted to lecture at the convent.

Father Thomas' major offense seems to have been his permissive attitude towards liturgical experimentation. He is also said to have angered older priests and certain prominent laymen by his frank and sometimes caustic criticisms of their conservatism. Archdiocesan officials attribute his removal to his manner of dealing with these people, but critics of the move suggest that if an acerbic manner were a consistent grounds for removing priests half the parishes in the archdiocese would be without pastors.

Another liberal priest who was disciplined was Father Francis J. Matthews, the director of archdiocesan radio and television activities, who was removed from that post in the fall of 1966 and transferred to a suburban pastorate. This past September he announced that he was leaving the priesthood. His assistant for radio and TV work, Father John P. Daly, was also removed last year and is now a hospital chaplain.

A fourth archdiocesan official who was transferred was Father Raymond F. Rustige, associate editor of the archdiocesan newspaper, the *Review*, who was named "administrator" (a title implying lack of tenure) of a large, predominantly Negro city parish. Father Rustige, a classmate of Father Thomas at Kenrick Seminary, had been passed over for the editorship of the *Review* in 1964 and was

dismissed last year, reportedly for having criticized the tendency of the new editor, Father Thomas J. Hederman, to take strong liberal stands on political questions and on matters affecting the whole Church, while ignoring certain significant issues in the St. Louis archdiocese.

The most recent transfer, in April, was that of Father Michael P. Gibson, a Kenrick classmate of Father Matthews, who was removed from the pastorate of an inner-city parish and named "temporary administrator" of a suburban parish. Later, he was reassigned as a hospital chaplain, a post traditionally reserved for priests who are aged or ill. Father Gibson's offense was also liturgical — he introduced certain changes in the form of receiving communion at a Mass he celebrated for a group of young men studying for the priesthood. Father Gibson reportedly acknowledged the innovation when charged with it, but his supporters believe that his "conviction" was a foregone conclusion, in that he was given a hearing before three conservative pastors, including Auxiliary Bishop Glennon P. Flavin, whose disapproval of any irregularity was almost certain. Father Gibson was, nonetheless, the only one of the four priests who was formally charged with improper actions and the only one given an opportunity of defending himself.

In the past two years two priest-teachers — one a music professor at Kenrick, the other a religion teacher at DuBourg High School — were removed from their academic posts because their ideas were considered too controversial. Both are reported to have been removed on short notice, on the basis of rumors and complaints, which they were given no chance to refute.

Father Gibson's dismissal was in accordance with a letter from the Cardinal, sent to all priests in October, which shocked many progressives by its harsh tone. In it he threatened removal of any priest engaged in unauthorized liturgical experimentation and spoke of "my obligation to see that our people are not victimized by those with a flair for the singular and unauthorized . . . ." The language of the letter and its authoritarian tone made it a document which could easily have originated in Los Angeles or New York. It seemed a drastic change from the genial, open, tolerant cardinal of the Council years.

Critics of present policies of the archdiocese suggest that the conflict is not between progressivism and conservatism as these terms are understood in other parts of the country, but rather between progress closely controlled by the central authority and progress involving a certain amount of grass roots initiative. For the dissatisfied, the lessening of authoritarianism and the encouragement of initiative among ordinary priests and laymen was one of the main ideas of the Council and is one of the major themes of modern theology. They believe that in St. Louis conciliar reforms are being enacted in an authoritarian pre-conciliar spirit. (An unintentionally comic instance of this was the announcement earlier this year that assistant pastors in the archdiocese would henceforth be known as "associate pastors," to emphasize that they share in the authority of the pastor. However, the chancery hastened to explain that the title carried no new powers or responsibilities.)

One of the causes of Father Thomas' removal was his willingness to tolerate the practice of some priests of celebrating the entire Mass in English, while the crucial central portion (the Canon) was still authorized only in Latin. Less than a year after his dismissal the American bishops requested an all-English Mass, and in May their request was granted by the Pope. Other unauthorized experiments, like Father Gibson's allowing seminarians to administer the communion bread to themselves after he had consecrated it, or the unauthorized giving of the communion cup to the laity, are changes to which there is no real theological obstacle and which in time are also likely to receive at least limited official approval.

Critics of the dismissed priests argue that the chancery office has no right to tolerate deviations from rules which only Rome can suspend, and Cardinal Ritter was undoubtedly sensitive to the opinions of Archbishop Vagnozzi, who is reported to have reacted very strongly to an ecumenical wedding authorized by the Cardinal four years ago, at which Father Rustige and an Episcopal priest jointly officiated. (The experiment has not been repeated.)

However, defenders of the disciplined priests, while admitting that archdiocesan officials cannot tolerate flagrant violations of the rules, believe

that they have assumed the role of zealous and enthusiastic enforcers of them, seeking out and punishing even relatively obscure infractions, such as masses celebrated for small groups in private homes, which were among the experiments prohibited in the Cardinal's October letter. These progressives argue that a tone of permissiveness is called for in the present period of ferment, and they cannot understand why the careers of dedicated priests should be harmed merely because they were slightly in advance of the thinking of most of their contemporaries. Even conservative liturgists, who now oppose "far out" changes, were regarded with great suspicion by many bishops as recently as seven or eight years ago, and some of the theologians whose writings shaped the decrees of Vatican II were in trouble with their superiors only a few years before the Council. It is depressing to many reformers that the lessons implied in such anomalies have apparently not been learned.

The official attitude of the archdiocese towards liturgy also strikes the dissatisfied progressives as highly legalistic, another characteristic of the pre-conciliar Church which many people hoped had been expunged. Father Gibson, for example, was reported to be extremely well liked and effective with his Negro parishioners, yet his ministry was abruptly destroyed because he violated certain rules which the Pope might well change tomorrow. The implication of his case and others seems to be that in the chancery office obedience to the letter of the law still takes precedence over all other values.

"Centralized control" is the phrase used most often by the liberals in reference especially to the priests in the chancery office who help formulate and administer episcopal policy. "Far-reaching changes may eventually come," one priest says, "but if they do they will be dictated from the chancery office." After Father Thomas was dismissed, the power of granting permission for liturgical experiment was vested in the chancellor, Msgr. William M. Drumm, who is cautious, conservative, and not a liturgist. Subsequently, a detailed guide to authorized liturgical practice was issued to all priests. In April the Cardinal forbade, in the name of the bishops of Missouri, a planned convention of students for the priesthood from all over the state, asserting that they should not meet

until the bishops themselves had first discussed the problems of seminarians. Conventions had been tolerated, if not authorized, for two years previously.

Early last year nineteen priests, including Fathers Matthews, Thomas, and Rustige, presented a letter to the Cardinal, couched in respectful terms, in which they praised reforms which had already taken place in the archdiocese but pointed out what they considered inadequacies in the existing programs to educate priests in the "new Church." Their initiative was not welcomed, and chancery officials were reported to have disparaged the "loyalty" of the nineteen. Despite its reputation for liberalism, the archdiocese was slow in authorizing the establishment of an elected group of priests to meet regularly on matters of concern to the clergy. A purely advisory group was set up earlier this year, long after several other dioceses had taken the step, and it has proceeded cautiously, even to the point of being reluctant to publicize its deliberations.

To many persons the centralization of the archdiocese is most clearly exemplified in Msgr. Joseph W. Baker, an official of the archdiocesan marriage court and vice-chariman of the Ecumenical Commission (the Cardinal was chairman). Msgr. Baker, who was a seminary classmate of Fathers Thomas and Rustige, was one of the Cardinal's advisors at the Council and was thought to be his most trusted consultant at the time of his death. (He is now thought to be the priest most likely to succeed Bishop Flavin as auxiliary bishop.) Msgr. Baker is learned, intelligent, and progressive in his theology, but epitomizes the authoritarian attitudes which seem increasingly to characterize the chancery office. He defends the disciplining of liturgical innovators as being necessary to protect the laity from possible harmful changes and refers to the innovators as "amateurs with no liturgical competence." He insists that "nothing valuable liturgically can develop outside the mainstream of the Church" and believes that would-be experimenters should make suggestions to the proper authorities, who will evaluate them in time.

Msgr. Baker seems to exemplify well the principle that yesterday's liberals are today's conservatives. He points out that he espoused liturgical reform, ecumenism, and other advances at a time when they were not



popular. His rise in the Church is partly due to his ability to grasp new concepts and apply them. He stood out as a young, specially trained priest at a time when many of the older clergy saw professional liturgists and other "experts" as dangers to the Church. Now he comes close to implying that the Church should be governed by experts like himself, working closely with progressive bishops.

### Ecumenism Favored

Ecumenism — the relations of Catholics with members of other denominations — seems to be one area of Church life in which the archdiocese is quite open and unrestrictive. Some people attribute this to the fact that Msgr. Baker is directly responsible for this area and the late Cardinal trusted his judgment implicitly.

However, some members of the St. Louis Jewish community believe that the archdiocese generally and Msgr. Baker in particular are more concerned over good relations with Protestants than with Jews. Many clergy, for example, have never seen the "Guidelines on Catholic-Jewish Relations" published in March by the American bishops.

Those who are disgruntled with the state of the archdiocese also believe that the Cardinal, for all his genuine belief in reform, was often more tolerant of conservative peccadilloes than of liberal ones. One rather elderly suburban pastor, who contemptuously referred to the new-style altars as "ironing boards" within hearing of his parishioners, was subsequently made a monsignor and dean of the clergy of his district. Despite his well-known lack of sympathy for the civil rights movement, he was also named to the Archdiocesan Human Rights Commission, which was set up to promote integration. In at least a few parishes Mass is not yet celebrated with the priest facing the congregation (as the new liturgy requires), and many of the clergy, especially well established middle-aged pastors, have conformed only minimally to the mandatory liturgical changes and do not disguise their distaste for them. Such conservatism has not been a barrier to promotion — Bishop Flavin and Bishop Gottwald are both considered unsympathetic even to those reforms already enacted, although as loyal priests they have accepted them.

The new concept of the laity which developed out of the Council is to many laymen perhaps the most important aspect of the whole of *Aggiornamento*. (An Italian word for "updating" which has become the unofficial term for post-conciliar reform.) Post-conciliar theology draws away from describing the Church as a hierarchical structure, although it certainly is that, and speaks of it instead as "the people of God." Innumerable speeches at the Council and several Council decrees give unprecedented emphasis to the rights of laymen and the necessity for lay initiative in the Church.

### Liberal "Review" a Clerical Preserve

But in St. Louis, many laymen have encountered what they consider solid opposition to these notions on the part of archdiocesan officials. Even in some conservative dioceses lay editorship of the diocesan newspaper has long been established, but the *Review* remains a clerical preserve. Despite the existence of a competent lay staff, when the editorship fell vacant in 1964, the Cardinal chose Father Hederman, a middle-aged suburban pastor with no journalistic experience. (Msgr. Baker explains the appointment by saying that no laymen were available who were familiar with diocesan affairs.) When Father Hederman was killed in a car accident on August 18, it seemed logical that the paper's lay staff should have responsibility for its operation until the appointment of a new archbishop. Instead, a temporary clerical overseer was appointed in the person of Father Edward J. O'Donnell, a young priest who already has several other administrative jobs.

Father Hederman's death was very untimely from the point of view of the paper's future. A new archbishop determined to alter its basic editorial policies can now do so by the "routine" appointment of a new editor.

Readers of the *Review*, which was voted the nation's best Catholic newspaper last year; did not detect any diminution of quality under Father Hederman's editorship, except its silence on certain controversial issues within the archdiocese. At the same time conservative priests and laymen are violently critical of the paper's overall political and theological liberalism. Subscriptions are supposed to be mandatory for every Catholic family,

with the parish paying if necessary, but some conservative pastors are known to prune their parish lists to protect their parishioners from the *Review's* influence. This is another deviation to the right which liberals point out the chancery office has been willing to overlook.

With the Cardinal's death, the *Review* appears to be becoming more cautious. In late July it printed an editorial relative to the two contradictory petitions on choosing a new archbishop. Although acknowledging the laymen's right to have some voice, it rejected the suggestion that this be immediately applied in the St. Louis situation by warning against the possibility of "a popularity contest." The editorial also implied that the 37 petitioners had advocated a vote for the new archbishop, which they had not.

When Father Matthews was dismissed from his radio and television job last year it again seemed logical that a layman with technical competence and experience should be chosen, but the Cardinal appointed instead Father O'Donnell. Like Father Hederman, Father O'Donnell seems competent, but many laymen wonder why, in the midst of a growing shortage of priests, clerics should be put into jobs which professionally trained laymen could fill as well or better. Father O'Donnell's appointment seems to have definite ideological implications. Father Matthews shortly before his removal instituted a weekly television program called "The Church Is You," which featured frank discussion of sensitive topics, sometimes by controversial persons from outside the archdiocese. Before it went off for the summer, however, the program had been toned down considerably and had featured a steady procession of chancery officials.

This penchant for thrusting only in clerical administrators extends throughout the archdiocese. Certain charitable institutions are run on a day to day basis by experienced lay social workers, but in each agency ultimate authority is vested in a priest, who sometimes knows less about the workings of the agency than its lay staff. Throughout the extensive archdiocesan school system only one Catholic high school has ever had a lay principal, an experimental school for slum youth. (The first lay principal, a Negro, resigned with his staff after a

year, charging lack of cooperation on the part of the archdiocese. A second lay principal, also a Negro, was appointed, but the school is now being reduced to junior-high level.)

In 1965 a group of 19 laymen, nine priests, and one nun suggested to the Cardinal the convening of a "little council" in the archdiocese to consider the problems of reform. The suggestion was received by the Cardinal enthusiastically and was given considerable national publicity. The initiators began drawing up plans, but shortly found the Cardinal's interest cooling. He made certain objections to the plans as submitted, some of which the planners conceded were valid, but avoided any further meetings with the leaders. Gradually the project died of attrition. Its instigators believe the Cardinal's change of heart stemmed from two causes — the fear of some chancery officials that laymen were getting control of the machinery of reform and the jealousy of the older, conservative lay organizations in the archdiocese, left over from the days when "lay initiative" was a phrase seldom heard.

The Cardinal subsequently set up Operation Renewal, under the direction of the conservative Bishop Flavin. This project essentially consists of a series of assemblies, on parish, district, and archdiocesan levels, at which priests and laymen debate proposals and vote on whether to submit them to the Cardinal for his consideration. Critics object to it on several grounds — that its complex, graded structure tends to cause radical ideas to become lost or watered down, that priests are able to dominate some parish assemblies, and that the whole plan involves seemingly interminable delays (the final archdiocesan assembly has been indefinitely postponed). When religious orders within the archdiocese were invited to elect delegates to the assembly, two orders of priests were told by the chancery office that the men they had elected were unacceptable.

This seemingly pervasive mistrust of laymen on the part of the chancery office was expressed last year in a letter from Msgr. Baker published in the *Review*, in which he objected to the use of the term "lay theologian" to refer to college theology teachers with master's degrees in theology. He disparaged the programs in which such degrees are awarded and revived

the old notion, which many Catholic educators had thought was long laid to rest, that the ordinary seminary education of priests involves the equivalent of a graduate degree in theology. Msgr. Baker has also expressed the opinion that much of the upheaval in the American Church is caused by incompetent college theology teachers who misinterpret the Council and the new theologians. In his letter he also accused the lay teachers of "playing God with people's lives," apparently a reference to the interest some of them had expressed, in a *Review* article, in stimulating students to new ways of thinking. The phrase struck liberals as odd coming from a man who has defended the dismissal of dissident priests and denies the ability of ordinary priests and laymen to take the initiative in the Church.

In April, the *Review* published an account of a new book by James M. Lee, chairman of the department of education at Notre Dame University, questioning the present form of the Catholic school system in America. Citing among other items Dr. Lee's contentions that the schools need "greater coordination of purpose" and that laymen should be given primary responsibility for school finances, the archdiocesan school board issued a letter to all pastors stating that "the Board rejects all these criticisms as totally irresponsible statements." The letter also criticized the *Review* for having given publicity to the book. Although the board includes several laymen, appointed by the Cardinal, there were reportedly no dissents to the letter.

The letter was rumored to be the work of Msgr. James T. Curtin, superintendent of schools and one of the Cardinal's closest advisors, whose actions exemplify some of the contradictions in the St. Louis situation. Earlier this year Msgr. Curtin's office sponsored a lecture in St. Louis by Father Charles Curran, a theology professor at the Catholic University of America in Washington, who was fired from the University in April because of his liberal views, but was later rehired after the faculty and students of the University struck. Last year, however, Msgr. Curtin is reportedly to have quietly undermined plans for an assembly of high school students, because one of the lay organizers of the abortive "little council" was to speak. In June, Msgr. Curtin gave public

approval to a plan for elected lay school boards in each parish, although he said he did not favor replacing the present appointive central board.

### Slow on Innovations

St. Louis liberals believe that events in St. Louis suggest that when the chancery office thinks of laymen, they continue to think of the pre-conciliar lay ideal — docile, cautious, and loyal. Those laymen who have regular access to the chancery and whose advice is sought are almost exclusively wealthy, conservative businessmen and physicians. A puzzling aspect of the Cardinal's October letter on the liturgy was his reference to innovations "which have deservedly caused wonderment among the faithful." In virtually every case the innovations referred to had been tried among selected groups of "faithful" who were enthusiastic about them. The whole aim of liturgical experimentation has been the attempt to make the ritual more meaningful to the congregation. The belief grows that while during the Council the archdiocese was willing to initiate reforms which disturbed many Catholics, the chancery is now becoming obsessively vigilant against upsetting the majority of laymen who are suspicious of all change. Critics consider this a valid concern, but believe encouragement should be given to the substantial body of laymen who see the need for further change and wish to be a meaningful part of it. Large numbers of younger Catholics, for example, are alienated at what they consider the slow pace of reform, an alienation which Msgr. Baker ascribes to "ignorance."

A concern for the sensibilities of conservative laymen also marks the present racial policy of the archdiocese, in contrast to 1947, when the archbishop used threats of ecclesiastical censure against Catholics who failed to accept integration. With full approval St. Louis priests and nuns have participated in the Selma March and other demonstrations, which produced many angry reactions in St. Louis. At present, the Human Rights Commission sees its major task as the persuasion and education of white people, an activity which in the long run may be the most useful one which the Church can undertake.

Father O'Donnell, who is assistant secretary of the Commission, says his group does not oppose militancy and

sometimes supports it, but in a racial situation thus far less tense than that in many other cities it seeks to be a mediating influence and to avert crises before they start. Housing has been a major concern, and Father O'Donnell says the commission has had limited success in persuading realtors to accept open-housing principles. Negroes have begun to trickle into the white suburbs in small numbers, and in some places they have been accepted, partly through the efforts of the local parish. On the other hand Daniel F. Sheehan, a St. Louis realtor who is prominent in archdiocesan councils, has been a vigorous opponent of national fair-housing legislation.

The St. Louis archdiocese was the first in the nation, four years ago, to institute a policy of purchasing only from firms with fair-employment policies. In 1965, the Cardinal outlined to pastors a program which each parish was expected to institute, in which parish meetings and commissions were to be organized, home and parish visits with Negroes set up, and attempts made to influence neighborhood leaders to accept integration.

No timetable was established, and critics of the program say its major weakness is its total dependence on the good will of the individual pastors, which is often non-existent. Despite the strong stand of the archdiocese in favor of civil rights, there are parishes where the subject is never mentioned from the pulpit and in which the pastor privately expresses his lack of sympathy for Negro rights. Priests who are unable or unwilling to cope with the migration of Negroes into their parishes are usually transferred to suburban pastorates, which in the minds of most people constitutes a promotion. A whole host of priests are members of the Missouri Athletic Club, an institution so rigidly segregated that it once refused admission to a Negro newspaper reporter sent to cover a story.

Father O'Donnell acknowledges some of these contradictions, but says the archdiocese does not wish to use coercion where persuasion may be possible. Critics see this as merely another example of the chancery's greater sensitivity to excesses on the left than on the right — priests may be disciplined for experimenting with the liturgy, but not for supporting segregated institutions.

In general, Father O'Donnell pur-

sues a cautiously liberal policy, in which he seems to be as concerned with maintaining the archdiocese's good image as he is in aiding integration. In late August, shortly after being appointed overseer of the *Review*, he reviewed several books for the newspaper dealing with the race issue. Although praising Martin Luther King strongly, Father O'Donnell took pains to point out that the participation of St. Louis priests and nuns in the Selma March was not "official" and he went on to disparage the importance of such demonstrations. He also seemed offended by a book by a Catholic sociologist claiming what most informed laymen consider self-evident — that the official Church, especially the bishops, has not done all it could have to support the Negro cause or change white opinion. In their public statements both Father O'Donnell and Msgr. Baker tend to reiterate the Church's achievements in this respect and ignore its failures, except in the most general way.

### Ghetto Work Ambivalent

The record of the archdiocese in inner-city work is also mixed. In two instances the Cardinal passed over the usual line of clerical seniority to promote dynamic young priests to ghetto pastorates, but as secretary of the Human Rights Commission he appointed Father Francis M. Doyle, a middle-aged suburban pastor with no experience in racial problems. Some priests also complain that although the Cardinal once asked for clerical volunteers for inner-city work, he ignored many of those who responded. Several inner-city parishes have outstanding programs, but while the archdiocese approves of them fully it is often criticized for not giving these parishes greater financial aid. A recently announced projection of expenditures allots a million dollars to the inner city over the next five years. While 7.2 million will be spent for expansion of the high school system in predominantly white areas.

In the ghetto the chancery also seeks to avoid radicalism. When Father Donald Heck, a young priest, sided with his parishioners in a public dispute with the St. Louis Housing Authority, he was quickly transferred to the suburbs.

Despite the fact that in practice he was not as liberal as he was sometimes pictured, Cardinal Ritter leaves behind

one of the most progressive American dioceses. (At least a few others, however, have surpassed St. Louis in this respect.) Even those whose desire for far-reaching reforms met with resistance from the archdiocese, or who were casualties in the eternal conflict of conservatives and reformers, acknowledge that his achievements, both before and during the Council, were considerable and that he deserved to be ranked among the leading American bishops of his day, a man who was on the whole a beneficial influence on the American Church.

They also recognize that despite his conservative tendencies, manifested from time to time, he was himself suspected of excessive liberalism by some other prelates. They will undoubtedly be an effort by Cardinal Vagnozzi and others to obtain the appointment of an archbishop to curb what are regarded as dangerous tendencies in the Church in St. Louis. Precisely because the St. Louis archdiocese has been more receptive to change than most other parts of the American Church, it has been the scene of some of the most significant clashes. During the past year, eight priests of liberal bent abandoned their ministries, either with or without permission. (Similar defections have occurred in most other dioceses.) More such "resignations" are likely, especially perhaps if a new archbishop attempts in any serious way to turn back the clock on the reforms already enacted. In many ways the position of the new archbishop will not be enviable. Because it is a microcosm of the whole Church, harboring within itself extremes of progress and reaction (the reactionary Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation is based in St. Louis, but never received encouragement from Cardinal Ritter), as well as a vast middle ground, the St. Louis archdiocese will be difficult to govern. Any policy a new archbishop chooses to pursue, whether liberal, conservative, or compromising, will arouse considerable dissatisfaction. The Catholic Church at present is deeply split and will undoubtedly continue to be for some time. This has been one of the chief fruits of "Aggiornamento," which should perhaps, but for the most part was not anticipated by the Council fathers. No healing of the split is in sight, and it is perhaps an inevitable part of the Church's coming of age in the modern world. ■

# IN SEARCH OF THE MODEL CITY

*The following two articles, we believe, have implications far beyond their specific locality, St. Louis. Donald Kornblet lays bare the intense but healthy competition of community groups to have their neighborhood become part of the Model City "target area." In the process, they have matured and their emergence will lastingly affect St. Louis politics. E. S. Evans appraises the systems analysis approach to the Model City Plan itself and comes up with disturbing questions. These questions are not news to the designers of the program. Indeed, this very fact — known questions remaining unanswered — makes Evans' probe even more disturbing. While systems analysis may be the only alternative open to the planners, as Mr. Hofmann, one of the designers, is quoted, the unresolved problems remain and may come to haunt St. Louis in the years to come.*

## *Fighting For The "Goodies"* / DONALD KORNBLET

*A. Donald Bourgeois, executive director of the  
St. Louis Model City Agency*





Rarely in the past has St. Louis exhibited that spark of life which illuminates something special in a city. New York, Chicago, San Francisco — each bears the insignia of an outspoken identity and an aura of pride about the contents of its past and the direction of its future. “On the Southside of Chicago,” “Manhattan,” or “I Left My Heart In San Francisco” ring forth with an air of exhibitionism that is admittedly lacking in St. Louis. An Easterner or Westerner might ask “Why?” when listening to the lyrics of “Meet Me In St. Louis, Louis.”

During the 1950's that complacent urban self, in an infrequent moment of introspection, came to look at other cities in America and ask, “why not St. Louis?” The seeds for future growth were firmly implanted during the 1950's, and in 1967 the St. Louisian can offer the now-famous Gateway Arch as one justification for meeting in Missouri's largest urban center. Beyond the Arch, itself, is the obvious symbol of pride which it represents. That pride has shown itself in many different ways and parts of the city.

At its core, St. Louis displays the same characteristics which all American cities proudly and ashamedly bear. The downtown section of the city houses an apparently thriving business community. As one fans out on each of its three sides, it is engulfed by an area which stands defiant and almost hopeless. With its own kind of polluted hopelessness, the Mississippi River flows stubbornly on the eastern perimeter of the business section.

Within the downtown commercial complex snuggle the signs of renaissance: the Gateway Arch; newly constructed Busch Stadium, home of the highly successful St. Louis Cardinals; the site for construction of the Spanish Pavillion, transported here from the New York World's Fair and often referred to as “Cervante's (Mayor A. J.) Folly;” and fresh apartment houses that tower over buildings aged by two or more generations.

But this is one chapter in a many-chaptered book.

Donald Kornblat participated in a one-year internship in public affairs with the Coro Foundation in Los Angeles after graduating from Yale University. Born and raised in St. Louis, he is presently serving in the United States Army.

In an area known as the Near Northside (commonly called the Yeatman district), about one mile from the heart of the business center, is the Pruitt-Igoe housing complex, of national repute for its blatant advertisement of failure in public housing projects. This monument to urban renewal, far from calling forth gratitude from its totally Negro inhabitants, brought demands by tenants that Washington officials come and inspect the horrors of living in a housing project. A vacancy rate of 25 per cent in the Igoe section, and 19 per cent in the Pruitt section is testimony to an unwillingness on the part of needy residents to face such an existence. None of the seven other public housing projects in St. Louis has a vacancy rate over four per cent.

Severe poverty and blight surround the Pruitt-Igoe complex. A survey by poverty officials indicates that some 75 per cent of the housing in most of the Near Northside could justifiably be condemned.

Called by one city official “the worst social and physical catastrophe in the country,” Pruitt-Igoe is contained in an approximately four-square-mile section of the Near Northside which is the target area of the St. Louis Model City program. If A. Donald Bourgeois, executive director of St. Louis' infant Model City Agency, was exaggerating when he made the above charge, it was the type of exaggeration which will make any improvement in the area all the more dramatic. It is this element of striking betterment — a high visibility of successful expenditure of federal dollars — that Bourgeois and the Model City Agency strive to achieve.

Eventually, it is envisaged that Bourgeois' Model City Agency will become a “planning, coordination, integration, and funding body, not . . . an agency which will operate any program.” Implementation of the so-called “systems approach,” a proven success in the aerospace industry, will lead to an attempted balance by the agency of the interrelationship among the factors of education, income, health, housing, economic activity, and tax bases.

Functioning as a prototype for an approach to be applied elsewhere in St. Louis, the Near Northside target area will hopefully prove that this city can achieve a measure of success in the

heretofore highly unsuccessful efforts of finding lasting solutions for urban ills. The selection of an initial target area is but one phase in a proposed multi-phase plan.

### Organizing Target Area

Dividing a city into “subareas” or “subcities” has become a growing concept illustrating both the political necessity for quick, visible results, as well as the recognition that a laboratory examination should precede a major operation. Even within the target area, itself, there are five “subcities.”

This approach — isolating one area in the city for concentrated effort — is not universally approved. A poverty worker involved in the initial planning of the St. Louis Model City proposal feels “this is the worst possible way to go about improving the city. If St. Louis is to make any real progress, it will have to be on a total scale, not by singling out one area at the expense of the rest of the city. This is exactly what's wrong with CEP (St. Louis' \$5,000,000 Concentrated Employment Program), and while they throw all efforts into getting jobs for those in the Near Northside, what happens to the jobless in the mid-city or southside areas?”

Others feel an over-all attack on the problems of urban decay promote frustration and the lack of measurable success stultifies the chance for experiencing any real, however small, progress. One former employee of the local anti-poverty agency, the Human Development Corporation, maintains “the failure of the poverty war is due to everything being spread so thin, and no really impressive results in any of a multitude of programs and approaches.” That employee is presently working with Bicentennial Civic Improvement Corporation, an organization which has singled out a nine-square block section in the Near Northside for a rehabilitation effort that has gained the admiration of urban-oriented Senator Charles Percy among other national figures.

At the same time, the growth of the “subarea” concept has nourished the soil of self-interest, and over the past two years several territorial organizations have sprung into a very active existence. Organizing people on a community basis is nothing new; but the ability to gain impressive unity and political muscle is more than note-

worthy. Territorial organizations offer a clue to the future direction of St. Louis, for that same power of community action which is directed inward for the improvement of neighborhood conditions, is gathering a degree of strength as it faces City Hall with demands now listened to as never before.

"There's only one corner of the universe you can be certain of improving," Aldous Huxley wrote, "and that's your own self." In the process of attempting to improve the territorial self, the neighborhood groups have been responsible for a number of those headaches which accompany growing pains.

The man who has probably experienced more of those political headaches than anyone else is Director Bourgeois, who was appointed by Cervantes to run the newly created Model City Agency in November 1966. The 38-year-old former Deputy General Manager of the Human Development Corporation discovered in the process of selecting the Near Northside target area that other territorial interests were demanding a special voice in the matter. Organizations in the Mid-City and Near Southside areas were responding to Bourgeois' call for citizen participation, but their response was in the form of attacks on him and the Model City Agency for excluding their sections from the target area.

"Heck! We're not trying to keep anyone out of this program," the politically astute Bourgeois has been explaining to more than one dissident neighborhood group. "We're on the 'ins' now, and we want everyone else with us. The Model City Agency offers a chance to really clean up the mess in St. Louis, but we've all got to work together."

Despite the force and eloquence with which the Model City director delivers this message, he has found pressure placed on his sensitive agency at every turn. To a Mid-City organization which has placed an inordinant amount of invectives on the selection of the Near Northside target area, Bourgeois angrily charged: "Now you listen to me, you Mid-City people. The quickest way to destroy this Model City program is to set neighborhood against neighborhood. You can either pitch in and work with us to try to accomplish something, or you can go around sour-graping the fact that you weren't selected as the

target area."

Voluntarily and involuntarily, Secretary Robert Weaver's Department of Housing and Urban Development played a role in that struggle which found the St. Louis Model City Agency under attack by neighborhood interests.

Involuntarily, HUD has fallen into that same pit with other Great Society legislation which has suffered the ever-growing stinginess of a Congress whose willingness to appropriate funds for domestic expenditures is *not* a number one priority. In the battle of appropriations, Weaver saw the \$662,000,000 requested for Model City funds by President Johnson whittled down to \$237,000,000 in the House of Representatives and to \$537,000,000 in the Senate.

At the same time, \$11,000,000 was approved for planning purposes under the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Act of 1966. (The name was changed from "Demonstration" to "Model" City due to fear of association with civil rights demonstrations.) With nearly 200 cities applying for Model City funds, it was obvious that no city would receive a sum commensurate with the task at hand. Observers in Washington report that no grants will be signed by President Johnson until the crucial vote for Model City funds for 1968 has been taken in Congress. The reason for this is that a number of Congressmen, representing areas with applications for planning grants under the funds already appropriated will discover that their area's application has been turned down. President Johnson is reportedly going to wait until after the vote before alienating some Congressmen. This accounts for the long delay in awards of grants authorized in 1966.

Due to a demand for highly visible results, HUD found that a number of applications submitted by cities covered too large an area. It was decided that an arbitrary limit on the number of residents in a given target area must be set. Notification was given to Mayor Cervantes in early March that only ten per cent of the city's population could be included in the target neighborhood.

The proposal which St. Louis sent to Washington on January 16 outlined a crescent-shaped area around the downtown business community and included the Near Northside, Near Southside, and a segment of Mid-City. Included in this crescent were about

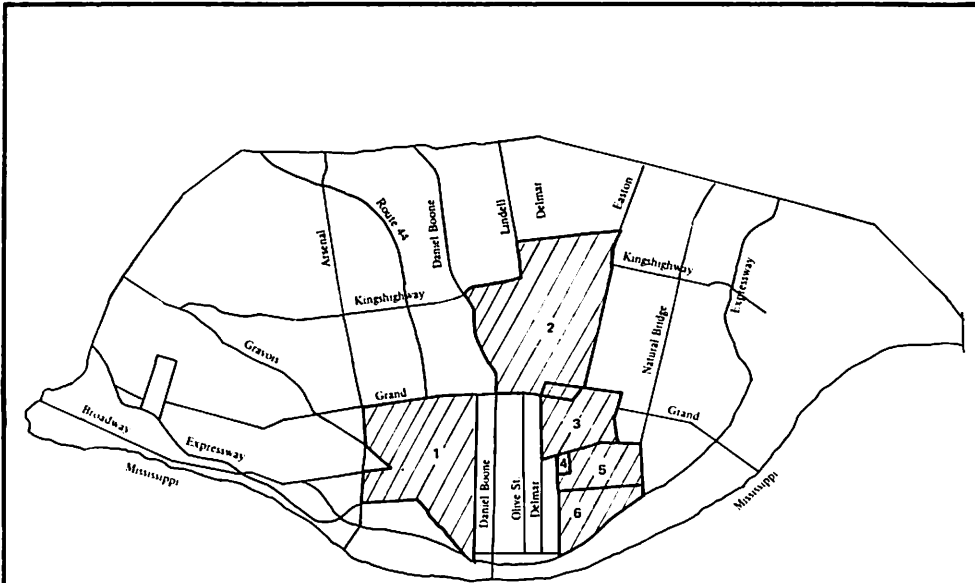
146,000 of St. Louis' 700,000 residents, or some 18 per cent of the city's total population. With the ten per cent dictum issued by HUD, sections of the original proposal would have to be excluded.

HUD contributed to the brewing struggle for inclusion in the target area by granting permission to Bourgeois to allow the Pruitt-Igoe project, located in the Near Northside, to be included in any area selected by the Model City Agency. Those involved realized that Pruitt-Igoe and the Near Northside were headed for final selection, while the Near Southside and Mid-City areas were not to be included. Indignant over what they considered to be an unfair selection process, the Near Southside and Mid-City lined up their ammunition and prepared to launch an assault that was to sting Bourgeois and surprise not a few city officials who are coming to respect the political capability and strength of neighborhood groups.

### The Mid-City Community Congress

V. Miller Newton is a 29-year-old political science professor who practices in the streets of Mid-City St. Louis what he teaches in his courses at suburban Webster College. The year-old organization, Mid-City Community Congress (MCC), provides the vehicle for Newton's sophisticated approach to the American political structure. A curious alliance of 44 different groups compose MCC, including churches, neighborhood improvement associations, block groups, businessmen's organizations, a welfare rights group, and a women's social club.

Simply stated, Newton's philosophy of politics is disarmingly obvious: "They've got the goodies down at City Hall and we want to help the Mid-City residents get their share by teaching the techniques of political pressure and compromise." The professor, who some have likened to social activist Saul Alinsky, enjoys telling how the mere threat of a rent strike by tenants brought results because a previous rent strike had been successful. Likewise, telephone calls to city officials now suffice where pressure groups of residents once had to journey downtown in order to get any action. Methods of organizing the area's residents into a cohesive self-help force are outlined in MCC's 52-page bible, "Proposal For a Citizens' Action Project in Mid-City



The numbered areas show the location of the various community groups: (1) Chouteau-Russell, (2) Mid-City Community Congress, (3) Jeff-Vander-Lou, (4) Bicentennial Civic Improvement Corporation, (5) Montgomery-Hyde Park Citizens Advisory Council, and (6) Grace Hill. The areas 3, 4, 5, and 6 represent the Model City target area in the Near Northside. The Pruitt-Igoe housing complex is located in the Model City target area.

**Groups Representing "Sub-areas"  
Within Model City Target Area**

Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc.  
Bicentennial Civic Improvement Corporation  
Grace-Hill Settlement House (Murphy-Blair Area)  
Montgomery-Hyde Park Citizens Advisory Council  
Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project Tenant Council

**Mid-City Community Congress  
Member Organizations**

Berean Seventh Day Adventist Church  
Christian Union Church  
Christian Light M. B. Church  
5000 Washington Block Group  
3900-4000 Delmar Block Group  
4200 Delmar Block Group  
4400 Delmar Block Group  
4200 East Cook Block Group  
4000-3900 Enright Neighborhood Improvement Association (N. I. A.)  
4200 Enright Block Group  
Eternal Light M. B. Church  
4100 Fairfax Block Group  
First Church Divine  
Friends of Field School  
Galilee Baptist Church  
Gaslight Square Businessmen's Association  
Greater Calvary Baptist Church  
Joint Community Board of Pilgrim Congregational and Westminster Presbyterian Churches.  
Jones' School for Ministers  
League for Adequate Welfare  
Leonard Avenue Baptist Church

4400 McPherson Block Group  
Mount Calvary Lutheran Church  
4500 Newberry Terrace Block Group  
Parrish Temple C. M. E. Church  
Pentecostal Temple Church of God in Christ  
People's Christian Church  
St. Alphonsus Ligouri Catholic Church  
St. Stephen's Lutheran Church  
Samaritan Methodist Church  
Sarah-Olive Businessmen's Group  
Scruggs Memorial C. M. E. Church  
Second Presbyterian Church  
Trinity Episcopal Church  
4300 Washington Block Group  
Watkins Temple  
Wayman Temple A. M. E. Church  
Wednesday Club  
3900-4000 Westminster Block Group  
4200 Westminster, McPherson, Maryland Block Group  
4500-4600 Westminster Place Block Group  
4700 Westminster-Plaee Block Group

**Chouteau-Russell Area  
Member Organizations**

Ten Park N. I. A.  
Park Eighteen N. I. A.  
Compton-Grand Neighborhood Action Group  
Hickory Development  
Soulard N. I. A.  
McKinley Fox N. I. A.  
Buder N. I. A.  
Pontiac Central N. I. A.  
Tenant Council of Darst, Webbe and Peabody Housing Development

St. Louis."

Had Newton's textbook theories not been applied with a fair amount of success, he might be scoffed at. What has happened, in fact, is that city officials and leaders of other groups in the Near Northside and Near Southside speak slightly of Newton with a distant respect showing more admiration than they care to let on. Charges of Newton's being "power hungry" and "too aggressive" have given substance to the fact that MCC is getting a full measure of attention. Still, an alderman from the Mid-City area wonders "exactly what is that group after?"

Bourgeois, more than any other official, knows exactly what MCC is capable of doing. To various pressures, both public and private, the Model City director has been prone to exhibit both disgust at tactics and respect for the activism which MCC has created. Before speaking with one of the reporters for the organizations' 15,000 circulation newspaper, *The Mid-City Communicator*, Bourgeois is likely to ask, "Is this for publication?" It was to members of the MCC staff, some of whom are Newton's students, that Bourgeois' angry statement about destroying the Model City program by setting "neighborhood against neighborhood" was directed.

Illustrative of MCC's techniques was the agreement by aldermen to hold public hearings in April for the refined January Model City proposal so that Bourgeois would have to confront all territorial interests in justifying the selection of the Near Northside target area and the exclusion of other sections.

Because MCC territory was not included in the January 16 proposal, a two-fold strategy was adopted. The first was the questioning of the very method of selection employed by Model City planners. "We would have liked to have had an opportunity to compete from the beginning," Newton told the Land Clearance and Housing Committee of the Board of Aldermen, "and we would like to know why the planners selected the area they did."

The second part of the MCC strategy was an assault on the selection of the Near Northside target area. "The proposed target area of Donald Bourgeois and the St. Louis Model City Agency is the most flagrant kind of containment policy," another

MCC leader, Rev. Oliver Gibson, told the aldermanic committee. "Its selected areas are out of the way, racially isolated enclaves."

Finally, Gibson outlined the reasons for choosing the diverse, relatively stable Mid-City area over the blighted Near Northside: "In talking about the Mid-City as a Model Neighborhood, we are talking about real change for the city of St. Louis. We are talking about new life for the city beginning at its heart, the Mid-City, new life that will go out of the heart and through the arteries to the entire civic body."

Through all of the charges, Bourgeois maintained the integrity of the Near Northside selection, but some felt that he had "blown his cool" for the first time. That Mid-City thorn in the side of the St. Louis Model City Agency found its counterpart in the Near Southside.

### The Chouteau-Russell Area

If statistical righteousness — unemployment figures, housing deterioration, health indexes — was the trademark of the Near Northside selection, then the Near Southside, commonly known as the Chouteau-Russell area, warranted a microscopic second-place finish in the race for selection. Nor was this overlooked by Bourgeois, who unhesitatingly assured spokesmen from Chouteau-Russell that their area was considered the number two priority by Model City planners. Matching the Near Northside's Pruitt-Igoe, the Chouteau-Russell area claims the Darst, Webbe, and Clinton-Peabody public housing projects, as well as an overall deterioration which forces a number of neighborhood residents to "find it almost impossible to call this area home."

Within the Chouteau-Russell boundaries, nine sub-areas are represented by neighborhood groups under the leadership of Mrs. Helen Day and the Ten Park Neighborhood Improvement Association. It was this group which decided that number two rank was not to be silently accepted. The pain of area exclusion was already felt. A special analysis of employment problems in Chouteau-Russell indicated "the highest need rank of all low-income areas of St. Louis."

"Yet we are being excluded from the new, multi-million dollar Concentrated Employment Program, and

Model Cities appears to be trying to exclude us from its program," a Chouteau-Russell statement charged.

Aiming for the number one position was an almost thankless task, as Mrs. Day explains it. "Model City tells us that they won't come into an area uninvited. So we invite them. But they're so preoccupied with the Near Northside that not one of the planners came here to survey Chouteau-Russell.

The Chouteau-Russell group, like its Mid-City counterpart, severely questioned the method of selecting the target area: "We challenge the validity of the criteria distributed by Model City as HUD criteria, and demand an investigation of these criteria. We want a verification of them from HUD"

It was the Near Southside which discovered angrily that the January 16 proposal which HUD ruled as covering too large an area included them; and that they were to be sacrificed for economic reasons in the refined proposal presented by Model City Agency to the Board of Aldermen at the April hearings. Adding to the territorial wound was the fact that, in Chouteau-Russell's words, "the Model City Agency had given direct assistance to the group on the Near Northside by supplying them with data and help in drafting a \$1.5 million dollar proposal to HUD."

"We're not trying to keep anyone out of this program," Bourgeois' steady repetition of soothing words has yet to succeed in placating some who feel the Model City Agency is not as concerned about the territory outside of the target area. To some degree, this feeling is justified, for the fate of the Model City Agency will hinge, among other things, on its ability to accomplish certain goals within the Near Northside. But Bourgeois has repeatedly indicated to neighborhood groups outside the target area that not being selected in no way dampens his agency's enthusiasm for working with such groups.

"I'll work with any group, in any section of St. Louis, and offer any kind of assistance in my power," Bourgeois maintains. Few doubt his sincerity in wanting to make a success of the program, but one is left with the decided impression that Bourgeois has been like the father whose three children clamor for equal attention. It is the problem child, the one whose

plight is most pathetic in the eyes of the father, who will receive most attention.

In this case, that child is the Near Northside.

### Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc.

The friends the Model City Agency has won in the Near Southside and Mid-City are not legion. Despite all of the criteria and visions which float around the Model City Agency, the direction of the program still puzzles many and brings comments of "quixotic" from others. Funding for the program is still not secure at the federal level. Staff which has been lent to the Model City Agency by other groups and public agencies is anxious to know about their future — a knowledge no one possesses.

The total picture is not hopeless, however.

In a letter to Walter G. Farr, HUD director of the Model Cities Administration, Bourgeois reported on the situation following the aldermanic hearings. "Differing geographic areas of the city and their interest groups have contested to be chosen as the target area," he wrote, "and public hearings led by the Model City Agency successfully resolved the contest." The final St. Louis proposal, which accompanied the letter, is 426 pages in length, asks for a \$367,179 federal planning grant, but does not — according to Bourgeois — fully convey "the excitement which has been stirred in the area."

One of the most important ingredients in "the excitement" is an organization called Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc. (The name stems from the territorial boundaries of Jefferson, Vandeventer, and St. Louis Avenues.) Less than one year old, the non-profit organization has laid claim to its territory by virtue of the purity of its philosophy: self-help. The St. Louis press has likened Jeff-Vander-Lou to "Operation Bootstrap," a concept of self-determination which has been notably applied in Puerto Rico and different parts of this country.

A nearly total Negro population, high unemployment, decayed housing and stark depression are the characteristics of Jeff-Vander-Lou territory which make it, and the surrounding Near Northside area, a likely target for governmental concern. At the same time Jeff-Vander-Lou leaders describe the area's needs, they also carefully



articulate a proud desire for independence.

"We don't need those folks in Washington, or those white-collar professionals on Clark Street (location of the Human Development Corporation) telling us what to do here," Mrs. Aritha Spotts, a "political grandmother," former school teacher, and leader in the group maintains, "Nobody knows what I and my neighbors need except I and my neighbors. How can anyone else know what's on our mind if they don't live right here? If anything's to be done, we'll be the ones to do it."

Jeff-Vander-Lou knows where it is heading. While outside help is appreciated, the leaders of the group know it will fall on the 650-resident membership to move forward. The thrust of Jeff-Vander-Lou's efforts is in the rehabilitation of housing, where they realize outside help is necessary.

"We want the Mayor to use his influence," asks Macler Shepard, upholstery shop owner and Chairman of Jeff-Vander-Lou, "to get bankers and real estate people to help us rehabilitate buildings so they will be livable — not just slap on some fresh paint."

A dozen pieces of slum property are owned by Jeff-Vander-Lou and its sister group, the Yeatman Redevelopment Corporation. The first to be totally refurbished and ready for occupancy represented an important milestone reached in August. Financing for future efforts is the most important problem to be solved. A July bank balance of Jeff-Vander-Lou shows a pitiful \$280.40.

The charge made by the Chouteau-Russell area — that "the Model City Agency had given direct assistance to the group on the Near Northside" before the target area was finally selected — was a direct reference to the closeness with which Bourgeois' planners have been working with Jeff-Vander-Lou. Among the five subareas within the Near Northside target neighborhood, the Jeff-Vander-Lou subarea has aroused the most enthusiasm at Model City headquarters. A great deal of time was invested in formulating a Jeff-Vander-Lou proposal to HUD for rehabilitation of a nine-square block area. Several of Bourgeois' staff flew to Washington with Jeff-Vander-Lou leaders to present the \$251,868 plan to HUD. (Airfare for the territorial representatives had to be raised by solicitation of

funds from businessmen.)

Although their finances are depleted, Jeff-Vander-Lou has a strutting posture which belies their plight. Testifying to their aspirations is the sign that appears on the group's future headquarters, which will be occupied as soon as inside rehabilitation is completed:

*Future Site of Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc.  
(A Community Non-Profit Corporation)  
Offices and Model Apartments  
"New Hope for the Forgotten People"*

With equal vigor, Jeff-Vander-Lou has faced other territorial groups — specifically MCC — in the defense of Bourgeois' selection of the Near Northside. The gist of Jeff-Vander-Lou's argument is that MCC operates primarily through the efforts of outside, out-of-touch influence.

"Who did those Mid-City people go to the aldermanic hearings with?" a Jeff-Vander-Lou partisan rhetorically posed. "Miller Newton and his students from out at Webster College and some university people. Who did we go with? One hundred area residents. Now who really speaks for the people?"

Even before active contention for Model City attention pitted Jeff-Vander-Lou against MCC, there was a dispute about an area which both groups claim fall within their boundaries. The overlapping territory was discussed by staff members from both organizations, but the impending drama with the Model City Agency prevented serious consideration of the problem.

### Creative Community Conflict

In the heat of emotion over the selection of the Model City target area, there was a strange kind of relationship between opposing territorial interests. That rivalry of aim which separated Jeff-Vander-Lou, Mid-City Community Congress, and the Chouteau-Russell interests brought the groups into conflict, not so much in a malicious manner tainted with destructive impulses, as in that contest where each combatant strives for the victory cup. Towards the end, when it was evident that the Model City Agency was firmly committed to selection of the Near Northside, the camps were squarely divided against one another.

But the territorial groups, despite their youth, have shown a sophisticated awareness of political realities, a realization that "we lost that battle

but we'll be around for the next one."

By virtue of the selection, neighborhood was set against neighborhood. A social worker with the Grace Hill Settlement House, an organizer for the Bicentennial Civic Improvement Corporation — both of whose organizational interests are located within the target zone as subcity areas like Jeff-Vander-Lou — are the first to admit that they would have "fought like hell if we felt that Model City was going somewhere else."

What Bourgeois and others are concerned about is that continuing competition, if overplayed, may be more destructive than anything else.

The Model City director maintains that the pressure by the territorial interests is "healthy." If it was his expectation that the selection of the target area would end an array of charges against him and the Model City Agency, he must be disappointed. But says Bourgeois, "I don't mind being watched closely. I want to run a clean house

Preparation might prove to be only part of the key in building a model city. Constantly trying to second guess what HUD officials, other Washington decisionmakers, and Congress — which Mayor Cervantes has charged with being "totally unresponsive to urban America" — are about, as well as maintaining a semblance of peace on the homefront make Model City planning every bit the challenge Bourgeois claims it is.

The St. Louis Model City Agency must be viewed mainly as the catalytic force it claims to be. The strength and impact of the agency will only be as strong as those individuals and neighborhood organizations which, in the end, must compute their own territorial progress. Action stemming from community involvement, even in the form of blistering attacks on the Model City Agency, is a positive sign to the extent that such actions bespeak neighborhood pride. There is little risk in venturing the prophesy that any Model City program which did not depend primarily on a sense of neighborhood identity and *esprit de corps* would result in failure. The most skilled technician, the most effective professional, can do little to improve life in the St. Louis slums unless there is present the force *within* that slum which is aimed in the same direction of improvement. ■

# IN SEARCH OF THE MODEL CITY



(Left) Macler Shepard, chairman of Jeff-Vander-Lou, plays "Trade-Off" with neighbors. The "game" asks participants to "buy" community assets (hospitals, schools, nurseries, etc.) out of a set budget. Boxes are identified as various institutions. Once the budget is exhausted and additional institutions are desired, the players have to "Trade-Off" purchased items for more desirable ones. Played on the streets of various neighborhoods with the participation of city officials, it offers insight into the preferences of residents.

(Below) V. Miller Newton, executive director of Mid-City Community Congress, leads residents in a tenant strike, an expression of "disorderly politics" according to author Evans.



# *The Threat of Expertise* / E. S. EVANS

Even a quick look through St. Louis' 431-page application for a \$367,179 Model City planning grant reveals its thorough orientation toward modern scientific management, *a la* RAND Corporation. We find the whole bit: "sub-optimization," "pricing out," "decision tree," "objective function," "opportunity costs," "PERT," "critical path method," "PPBS," and more. Much of this is a sincere effort to apply systems analysis, a space-age decision aid, to urban problems. But some is obviously verbal icing on a five-pound cake meant to tempt bureaucratic palates.

"Systems analysis has sales value," said Robert E. Hofmann, a planning engineer at McDonnell-Douglas Aircraft Corp. and systems consultant to the St. Louis Model City Agency. "We live in an age when it's catching on everywhere."

Moreover, he asserted, the federal guidelines for Model City proposals demanded a systems analysis approach. While even some Model City Agency planners had private doubts about applying this approach to a social situation, there was no alternative but to follow the guidelines if St. Louis desired allocations under the Model City plan. In spite of its shortcomings, which Hofmann readily admitted, the systems analysis approach seemed to him the best feasible solution in terms of today's political realities.

However, the application submitted to the federal Housing and Urban Development Department last April 26 makes one wonder whether the drafters really understand what they are talking about, whether they are aware of the mystic methodology's political implications. They start out talking about "cost-benefit" evaluation, benefit having implications of value judgment. (One man's benefit may be another's bane.) Further on, the term used is "cost-effectiveness," which stresses in-

creased results at constant costs. Eventually it becomes "cost-efficiency," meaning like impact at lower cost. Hofmann says this is quibbling, but such muddles promise trouble ahead.

Moreover, the application also indicates the imperfections of such techniques, especially the difficulties in adopting an engineering and defense analysis tool to city planning. The staff members admit this and say the agency is still trying to work it out. But there seems to be an internal dispute over "the state of the art" and how to perfect it. These problems will continue to plague the agency, even more as it gets into the year-long planning phase.

The proposed program would focus on a racially mixed, low-income blighted area of 1,634 acres just north of downtown St. Louis, including the infamous Pruitt-Igoe public housing project. In the request for planning funds, the Model City Agency proposed to rely on rigorous systems analysis in designing and implementing a demonstration program to improve social, health, educational, economic, and living conditions in the inner city. The systems approach is the crux of the whole idea developed in St. Louis.

## **Defining Systems Analysis**

Systems analysis is a way of thinking about complex, related problems in the face of future uncertainties developed by defense scientists and other experts in the 1950s. It is a broader, more refined but less rigorous and less mathematical successor to the operations research techniques used to develop weapon systems in World War II. Basically, this mode of analysis sees a system, a community in this case, as composed of three kinds of elements: hardware, such as equipment and other facilities; people; and procedures or the relationships among elements. Each of these are made up of subsystems: the land-use pattern, social structure, and traffic system, for example. The approach is not unlike Aristotle's rational method of breaking a problem into its parts.

But the characteristic of systems analysis is the breadth of its examination. Every component system is composed of subsystems composed of smaller subsystems and so on. Changes

in any subsystem affects other subsystems, the whole system, and the larger systems. These effects are "priced out." Thus, for construction of a new highway, not only the immediate local economic benefits are considered, but also its effects on, say, the lives of the people displaced, where they will move to, and their impact on their new neighborhoods. Even more far-ranging questions may be traced throughout the urban system as explicitly as possible. "Software" like complicated mathematical tools, computer programming, abstract models of reality, and the several social sciences are often employed in such analysis. The purpose is to clarify as best reason can the possible choices according to precisely stated criteria.

The systems-analysis approach is one side of the planning coin struck by the St. Louis agency. The other side is the proposed planning organization and operation. This planning process is supposed to insure that systems analysis does not run roughshod over residents of the target area, that their wants are accommodated and needs met. But it, too, has weaknesses that the agency staff is arguing over. First, the systems approach's software will be given a hard look and discussed with its designer.

## **Hofmann's Models**

Hofmann has formulated two graphic models (analytic aids more easily manipulated than the real world) as conceptual frameworks for Model City planning. One, based on a study of 25 cities with populations of 500,000 or more, represents central-city livability in terms of family income. It is used to establish the planning program's single criteria for determining what is to be done in the target area. This one test is: what will maximize median income among resident families?

Livability is seen as the difference between the per cent of a city's population with income of more than \$8,000 a year and the per cent with less than \$4,000 annual income. Thus, he presents the formula: livability equals per cent affluent minus the per cent poor. Accordingly, if the difference is zero, livability is so-so. If the per cent over \$8,000 income is greater than that under \$4,000, livability is positive, or progressively better. If the per cent over \$8,000 is the lesser, livability is negative, or regressively worse.

*E. S. Evans, a reporter for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, is on a year's leave to study political science and urban affairs at Washington University under a Russell Sage Foundation fellowship. He works part-time on the Trans-action magazine staff.*

St. Louis livability, according to this formula, is minus 11, with 21 per cent of population earning more than \$8,000 and 32 per cent less than \$4,000. This livability index is said to be the fourth lowest among the 25 largest American cities.

One trouble with this model is that it equates livability with the relative proportions of people with high and low incomes without considering the middle-income proportion. Communities pleasant or suitable to live in, as Webster's defines livable, can be found in moderate- or low-income areas. Also, perhaps the goal should be a socioeconomic class structure more like a triangle without a population below some middle-income level and less like a diamond with small groups at the top and bottom. The model builder assumes the traditional diamond pattern is best.

The proposal promises to improve livability in the target area by decreasing the percentage of its population earning less than \$4,000 a year. But the application fails to point out that the livability index could be improved also by increasing the proportion over \$8,000. That this will be done is much more politically probable. Making the middle group, the 47 per cent earning between \$4,000 and \$8,000, more affluent would improve the index and increase median income, but would not help those most in need. Furthermore, as the income of the middle group increases, more and more of these families are likely to move out to the suburbs, as most upward-mobile families have done. This would probably increase the proportion of the poor trapped in the ghetto and could defeat the model on its own terms.

To the criticism, Hofmann replies that the livability model, despite its limitations, avoids theoretical disputes like that over ideal city form and focuses on real problems like the municipal financial squeeze, the lack of a middle-class tax base coupled with lower-class welfare burdens.

"It highlights problems that might otherwise be clouded," he said. "Improving family income would improve the city's fiscal position. If those who move up also move out, that would be a second-order effect. I guess I just didn't know how to handle it. At least, we would be improving the central city as a processing center boosting lower-class, rural immigrants into middle-class lives."

His other model compares the target area to St. Louis as a whole and the city to St. Louis County on eight socioeconomic characteristics such as unemployment, education, and unsound housing. The disparities, or differences, in these factors are shown on another graph and correlated with family income in an analysis of 79 cities with 150,000 or more residents. Little note is made of any future uncertainties involved in using such comparisons for standards. Socioeconomic conditions in the suburban county may be expected to improve, except maybe housing. Yet, "halting and eliminating the causes of these disparities" is a major objective of the planning.

"Cost-benefit analysis" is suggested for determining each substantive program's effect in reducing such disparities and in hiking family income. Thus, there now appears a second criteria. "In other words," the application states, "the substantive goal of the Model City Agency will be to minimize disparities on many indices per program dollar." This seems to say that social and economic conditions will be improved whenever income cannot be increased as *efficiently*.

"This disparity model will show the major resource allocations needed," Hofmann explained. "Each disparity is a mission. They indicate the program areas we must examine, while the livability model will be used to select from possible programs the optimum combination to meet the single increase-income criteria."

However, Gene H. Fisher, a RAND expert on such matters, argues against use of quantitative models (those expressed in numbers) in allocating major resources. "In the main," he has written, "the analytical tools now available, particularly the quantitative ones, are just not very helpful in dealing directly with such problems. Intuition and judgment are paramount." The Model City proposal fails to make clear any reliance on intuition and judgment here and elsewhere in the planning.

The livability and disparity models are used as the basis for the proposed package program budget system (PPBS), a related budgeting technique pioneered by the Defense Department and extended to the entire executive branch in 1965. The final programs to be implemented will be subject to similar control and review methods known as program evaluation and re-

view techniques (PERT) and critical path method (CPM).

But how do the wishes of the target area people fit into all this? "We've designed a monster, in a sense," Hofmann admitted. "But community values can act as a constraint on the models and take precedence if expressed strongly enough." But in the application's words, the guarantee is not so assuring: "Non-quantifiable values will be *identified and listed* for each program element for more complete evaluation. The cost and benefit impact of various program elements upon different groups (producers vs. consumers, etc.) will be included."

Systems analysis, like any tool, is morally neutral, he noted. The protection of human values is a role assigned primarily to the planning process. This proposed operation, the St. Louis agency's first try at systems design, is intended to produce conflict between this "monster" and the people. A close look will show, however, that it probably will not bring about the highly touted and legally required citizen participation to any significant extent, as presently organized.

## Political Control By "Experts?"

A political contest is to stem from built-in "bottom-up" and "top-down" approaches to planning. The opponents are to be subcity planning teams, advocate planners representing residents of neighborhoods in the target area, on one hand and the staff's subsystem planners on the other. The subsystem planners will deal with component parts of the area-wide system, such as housing and health. It is a kind of regionalist-versus-functionalist controversy.

The two subcity teams will be led by sociologists, social workers, architects, and real estate economists "loaned" to neighborhood groups but remaining directly responsible to the Model City Agency, which pays their salaries. Moreover, these professionals may not readily identify with the poverty-stricken inhabitants more than to the professional subsystem planners. It does not look like it will be a fair fight.

Samuel Dardick, the agency's city planning chief, replies that some staff members are concerned with "the



glue in the system," as are federal officials. Simply giving money to the community groups and letting them hire their advocates is being debated, he said in an interview.

"Some say the subcity planners will represent the people," he said. "But I'm not so sure. What happens when the Mayor says that he doesn't like what they're doing in the area? We're trying to find a way to insure advocate planning's responsiveness to the people."

In addition, the subcity planners' principal duties will be to determine neighborhood needs and establish priorities. But the priority list is not very useful in resources planning, say such authorities as Charles J. Hitch, the former assistant secretary of defense recently named president of the University of California. Subsystem planning, however, will be based on rigorous systems analysis, and that is the name of the Model City game. So the dice are loaded, too.

"We haven't really come to grips with the problem of community values yet," Dardick conceded. The planning system, as proposed, indicates that if community values cannot be put on the computer's punch cards along with "hard" data, they count for little.

Conflict is also expected — indeed, it is to be stimulated — between the subcity teams as they compete for scarce resources controlled by a central planning staff. Also, additional players to be sought include the Human Development Corporation (the St. Louis war-on-poverty agency), City Plan Commission, East-West Gateway Coordinating Council (the cooperative metropolitan land-use and transportation planning organization), Regional Industrial Development Corporation, and other agencies removed from direct public control. The possibility looms of a great coalition of planners and computers allied against the target are people.

"Many of us feel the central staff is top-heavy," the chief planner said. "Although its role seems awfully powerful, look at the budget. It's really weak." The grant requested would provide about \$110,000 for the advocate teams and only \$46,000 for systems consultants and central staff activities, he pointed out.

(Many of the original planners, such as Robert E. Hofmann, volunteered their services and have stayed in touch with the Agency.)

The designers of this planning process expect the conflicts to be resolved by an advisory committee of "at least five" citizen representatives and three city officials, by constant interaction among competing groups, by playing a planning simulation game called "Trade-off" on neighborhood streets, and by system analysis. However, lay committee members usually bow to expert opinion; constant, unlubricated interaction among antagonists may lead instead to frustration and alienation; "Trade-off" is now limited to land-use and fund allocation decisions without consideration of other values like health and beautification; and systems analysis is the experts' tool. *Unless the subcity planners really advocate, the people's only weapon may be petitions, pickets, and other forms of disorderly politics.*

It appears to add up to a system in which top-level authority can use expertise to control the political competition and dictate the outcome, just as Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara has employed PPBS to control the military brass.

Ultimately, of course, the final Model City plan will be subject to approval by the elected Mayor and Board of Aldermen. Citizen influence is more or less assured at this level of decision-making. However, Dardick said, relations with the political powers also remain to be worked out.

"Some favor creation of a sort of blue-ribbon citizens group through which our final recommendations would go before submission to City Hall," he said. "Others feel we should send our proposals and the alternatives directly to the aldermen."

In any event, recent social science studies show, the political power of the bureaucrats is growing because they limit the alternatives, they draw up the politicians' agenda. As Prof. Robert Boguslaw, a Washington University sociologist, concluded in his book on systems design, "The New Utopians:

"And so it is that a designer of systems, who has the de facto prerogative to specify the range of phenomena that his system will distinguish, clearly is in possession of enormous degrees of power . . . To the extent that decisions made by each of these participants in the design process serve to reduce, limit, or totally eliminate action alternatives, they are applying force and wielding power . . ."

In sum, the proposed systems-analysis approach lacks sufficient consideration of non-economic costs and qualitative, as opposed to quantitative, factors. Community values must be guaranteed, not merely "identified and listed." The models, no matter how "scientific," will not answer the ultimate questions. Suppose one possible program mixture would reduce the infant death rate, and another would raise educational levels but not affect baby survival much. Each costs about the same, but education boosts income more. Do the decision-makers accept high infant mortality, at least in the short run, in order to improve schooling and income? Tough choices like this one still require judgments.

Perhaps the greatest contribution Model Cities planning could make to better urban life is development of social indicators giving improved knowledge of the society's well being or testing guaranteed income proposals such as the family allowance and negative taxes. After all, redistribution of wealth by giving the poor money is certainly a direct way to maximize family income.

The proposed planning process needs stronger assurances that its methods will not be used as undemocratic means of controlling citizen influence and the political process to exclude the poor's interests. The organization would undoubtedly be improved by providing unrestricted funds so residents of the area can have their own expert advocates. Other instruments of influence should also be considered. Maybe voter approval of programs, appeal procedures, and partial popular control of funds would be in order.

If the agency can sharpen the tools and mitigate the dangers, systems analysis can have an important place in urban planning. Modern technology, like the city, is man's brain child, but it should not be forced into incompatible political and social contexts. As Hofmann noted:

"Systems analysis can highlight the choices among an array of alternatives, each clearly tagged as to its costs and effectiveness. It can promote overall integration of planning among independent agencies concerned with overlapping problems by helping them to see the links. It's an imperfect tool, but I do not know of another as promising."

Or threatening. ■

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# ABORTION

## Is A Private Matter

Lonny Myers, M. D.

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Early this year "liberal" abortion laws were introduced in about 30 state legislatures, and in California, Colorado, and North Carolina "liberalized" statutes were passed. All of the bills introduced and those modifications passed under the guise of "reform" actually reinforced the legal position that abortion *per se* is a crime. If such changes were adopted nationally they would protect the physicians who do occasional "therapeutic" abortions. The 8,000 to 10,000 hospital abortions now technically illegal would become legal. The number of such abortions might even be doubled. But what are 20,000 "legalized" abortions in terms of the 1 to 1.5 million abortions that take place each year in the United States?

Many well-meaning citizens accept the position that induced abortion *per se* should be a crime. This view is sanctified by law in each of the fifty states. Fundamentally a moral or religious judgment (rooted in Victorian attitudes and Catholic dogma), this view prevents a medical solution to a major problem of our society and is responsible for thousands of deaths.

In the United States, more than one million women procure abortions each year. Contrary to popular belief, most are married, have two or more children and are pregnant by their husbands. Virtually all abortions are "criminal." About two per cent of the annual total

are called "therapeutic" because they are performed in hospitals by licensed physicians with the approval of medical colleagues. Actually, such abortions also violate the law in most states. Most state laws permit abortion only to save the life of the mother and do not distinguish between "therapeutic" abortions and "criminal" abortions performed by black market abortionists.

Why abortion is a crime is not made clear in any law. Abortion laws show little concern for the conceptus. The Illinois law states: "It shall not be necessary in order to commit abortion that such woman be pregnant, or if pregnant, that a miscarriage be in fact accomplished." In other words, the crime is inherent in the process of per-

forming (or attempting) an abortion, regardless of whether or not a pregnancy is terminated.

Abortion has not always been a crime. American abortion laws originate in the Puritanical association of contraception and abortion with immorality. Abortion was one of the many "obscenities" that Anthony Comstock was determined to banish in 1873. It was not until 1869 that Pope Pius IX pronounced all abortions murder. For centuries before that the Catholic Church officially recognized a distinction between the animated and non-animated fetus. Abortion before animation was not considered a serious crime by the Church although individual church leaders condemned it. An Episcopal minister, the Rev.

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Lester Kinsolving, has pointed out the Catholic view that a fetus is a person is a "temporary and current stand" and that some of the Catholic Church's greatest popes and saints have believed otherwise. The doctrine of immediate ensoulment has been the Catholic Church's official position for less than one hundred years. The Protestant position, as Pastor Howard Moody points out in *Renewal*, "had more to do with the present unbearable codes than the Catholics. If the Catholics seemed to be unnaturally obsessed with the future of salvation of an unbaptized fetal soul, the Protestants were preoccupied with removing the visual product of woman's immortality and sin."

### Is Abortion Murder?

The position that all abortions are murder creates insoluble problems. Spontaneous abortions occur in about one out of every five fertilized ova. It is common practice to treat aborted tissue as tissue, not as a dead human being. If spontaneous abortion is treated basically as a medical problem, why not also induced abortion? Are not the eternal verities the same?

Moreover, if as a society we accept abortion as murder than we must regard each of the millions of housewives who have had abortions as a participant in a hired killing. It is curious that abortion should be regarded as murder for purposes of preventing legal hospital abortions, but is not regarded as serious enough a crime to prosecute participants.

The view that abortion is murder, but that this position should not be codified into law is being endorsed by a growing number of Catholic leaders. Father Robert F. Drinan, S. J., Dean of the Boston College Law School, stated at the International Conference on Abortion in Washington that repeal of all laws pertaining to a non-viable fetus is preferable to so-called "reform" legislation. Such legislation would, according to Father Drinan, introduce a system wherein the law would "select certain types of individuals whose lives can be taken not because of any offense they may have committed but only because their existence is inconvenient to others. . . . A law which is silent about the abortion of non-viable fetuses says no such thing. . . . It leaves the area unregulated in the same way that the law abstains from regulating many areas

of conduct where moral issues are involved."

Modern scientific advances also raise new questions regarding the prevention of the development of pregnancy. Nidation is the implantation of the fertilized egg into the wall of the uterus. Contranidation is the prevention of such implantation. A drug or device that acts to effect contranidations technically would be causing "abortion" of the fertilized egg: murder of a human being according to current Catholic doctrine. Plastic intra-uterine devices (commonly referred to as "the coil" or IUD) may act in this manner; the exact mechanism of their action has not been determined. In some cases it is not even known whether a particular drug or device acts to effect contraception or contranidation; it is simply clinically evident that it prevents the development of pregnancy. These are current enigmas, but soon proven "abortion" pills will be on the market. Pills, such as developed in Sweden, are known to act after fertilization and even after nidation. Do we want to write "new" abortion laws that force us to make a moral distinction between contraception and early abortion? Is this even feasible?

### Proposed Modifications

The American Law Institute's Model Penal Code drafted in 1959 classifies abortion as a crime and provides that the licensed physician may claim affirmative defense of this crime *only* if he can establish that: "there is substantial risk that continuance of the pregnancy would gravely impair the physical or mental health of the mother, or that the child would be born with grave physical or mental defects or the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest . . ."

### Definitions

*Abortion* is the loss of the products of conception before viability.

*Viability* medically defined begins in the 28th week.

*Induced abortions* are those abortions initiated by other than natural causes.

*Spontaneous abortions* are those resulting from natural causes. They are a common occurrence and may be mistaken for a delayed menstrual period.

This Code departs from the past, as John R. Sullivan points out in the *St. Louis Review*, in that "where certainty was once required to justify abortion, the proposals now introduce the element of probability." But more important, it continues to classify abortion a crime. A licensed physician performing an abortion in good faith because he believes that it is in the patient's best interest is subject to criminal prosecution.

Medical practice is based on the assumption that *all* medical procedures are performed to avoid impairment of the mental or physical health of the patient. Surgical operations, such as amputations, and the removal of an entire uterus, are performed daily because the operation is necessary. Moreover there are numerous examples of indications for operation which would be considered "non-medical" if applied to abortion. A man who has corrective surgery on his hand so that he can work is seeking medical care for economic reasons; plastic surgery is often performed for social reasons; circumcisions are often performed for religious reasons. Only this one procedure, abortion, requires that the physician prove the necessity of the treatment to the satisfaction of lay persons whose beliefs about sex, birth control, and abortion may be radically different from his own and that of the patient.

In June 1967 the AMA adopted a position statement along the lines proposed by the American Law Institute. The statement emphasizes that if laws were passed in each of the fifty states reflecting this position *there would be no significant change in the number of criminal abortions performed in the United States*. Under such laws, physicians will *not* risk their professional status to offer safe abortions to the millions of women who *desperately seek medical help* to prevent the birth of an unwanted child.

So long as abortion remains a crime, abortion will continue to be the number one maternal public health problem. Each year a high proportion of women who have been criminally aborted sustain serious medical complications; thousands actually die. If the complications of criminal abortions were reported accurately as abortion, it would be unchallenged as the leading cause of maternal death and illness in the United States.

In Missouri, Senator Robert L.

and vigils practically every weekend.

While the School's organizers publicly admit that the city's reputation as a "Movement town" hides the bitter reality of short-lived victories and temporary influence; they are satisfied with a summer in which groundwork is being laid for future building: CORE's consumer project in which city-wide comparisons of grocers' prices and the quality of their goods goes on; SCLC's Operation Breadbasket continues to negotiate for jobs and better paying positions for Negroes in the larger consumer-oriented industries, and CCCO's fostering of a number of projects, each of them aimed at enhancing the relative financial or psychic status of black power.

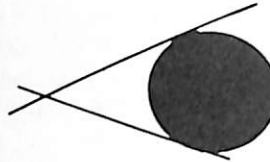
Chicago has been alive this summer with underground activities. There has been little press coverage because there is little "dramatic" about either the means or the ends. But The Union of Organizers' School contributes toward a gentle revolution of the lives of ghetto people.

The organizers are young and enthusiastic; none are over 30. First unbelievable to them, they found that self-hate was a real factor in blocking their effectiveness. Earl Durham, their director of training, discovered that many trainees had a distrust of other blacks. He created artificial situations in which the organizers could vent their feelings and begin to understand themselves. Conceivably, tearing down the internal artifices within its own black organizers, may turn out to be the School's most far-reaching accomplishment.

But there is nothing concrete coming out of the School. No one really knows if it can affect significant shifts of power in a community where the rate of infant deaths from flu and pneumonia is four times that of non-poverty areas.

It will be long after the School has moved on to other communities in Chicago before anyone can intelligently guess at whether organizing is a "teachable" subject. ■

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## THE RIGHT WING

An earlier issue of FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. III, No. 6/7) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and the Fanatics" describing 45 organizations located or active in the Illinois-Missouri area. This column, "The Right Wing," will keep our readers abreast of new developments. Together with the "Roster" it offers an up-to-date service. Copies of "The Roster" are available at \$1.00 each.

### American Council of Christian Churches

Laymen's Commission of the ACCC (Rev. Carl McIntire's group) has announced that John Stormer, author of "None Dare Call It Treason," has joined the Commission and that it has released "Communist Socialist Propaganda in American Schools," written in 1953 by the late Verne P. Kaub and just revised by Dr. Donald A. Waite, an assistant to Rev. McIntire and formerly to Robert Welch.

### American Medical Association

Dr. Milford O. Rouse, new President of the A. M. A., was once a director of H. L. Hunt's Life Line Foundation and has been active in the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, a group which interlocks heavily with the John Birch Society.

### Birch Society

Robert Welch announced the addition of two Council members, the first in three years. They are Floyd Paxton, president of Kwik-Lok Corp. and publisher of the *Yakima* (Wash.) *Eagle*, and Dr. Lawrence P. McDonald, a surgeon from Atlanta.

### Catholic Committee for Anti-Communist Education

The *Kansas City Star* carried a story pointing out that 13 members of the Birch Society have formed the above Committee which is promoting JBS films and materials with local Catholic leaders.

### Constructive Action, Inc.

Backing the distribution of a new, misleading, and malicious anti-poverty program book, "Pass the Poverty Please," is Constructive Action, Inc. a California non-profit corporation. The organization has distributed to college students and others more than 3,800,000 books and publications since 1964. Among its favorite authors are John Stormer, Phyllis Schlafly, and Dr. F. C. Schwarz. They have also distributed about 1,400 film-strips.

### Illinois Committee for the Constitution, Inc.

FOCUS/Midwest reported in No. 33 about the formation of this group and its link to the Birchites. Meanwhile, FOCUS/Midwest has learned that Julius W. Butler, president of the Committee, has distributed to Illinois legislators the book, "Victory Denied," published by Charles Hallberg, Jr. The author, Major Arch Roberts, fears U. S. domination by the "U. N. tyranny."

### National Education Program

The NEP on the campus of Harding College at Searcy, Arkansas, has announced the return of Glenn A. Green as executive vice president. The college has repeatedly denied that it is the breeding ground of extremist literature. Green has held high positions with the Birch Society and the National Right to Work Committee. He produced the film "Communism on the Map."

### National Freedom of Employment Committee

This Committee is lobbying state governors in behalf of an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit what it calls "compulsory unionism." The Committee is a division of Civic Affairs Association which has been operated for years from Los Angeles and Denver by Samuel M. and E. D. Cavnar. (Another program of this Committee is "Project Prayer," which has 3,500,000 members, according to a recent announcement by Pat Boone, who has been active in that program and in other right-wing activities, such as H. L. Hunt's District Speakers.)

### National Information Council on the United Nations (Missouri Dept.)

The N. I. C. is the Missouri branch of an (allegedly) national organization, according

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to its chairman, John M. Wilson. He claims that their efforts to take the U. S. out of the U. N. is supported by many members of the D. A. R., the Congress of Conservatives, the National Constitution Party, the Young Americans for Freedom, and other groups. The United Nations Information Council of Missouri (see "Unicom" under "The Right Wing" in No. 35) is a separate, local group, although with identical goals.

### Publications

The leading rightist publications in 1966

were: Liberty Letter (174,000), The Defender (127,000), National Review (97,000), Human Events (96,000), Christian Beacon (85,000), The Councilor (73,000), Christian Crusade (71,500), American Opinion (43,000), Dan Smoot Report (31,000), The Cross and the Flag (29,000), The Wanderer (27,000), The Citizens (24,000), and New Guard (21,000).

### Stop

A group of Catholic laymen in Milwau-

kee, identifying themselves only as the Committee for Sanctity, Truth, Obedience and Penance are protesting contributions to a Catholic charity allegedly helping the civil rights movement. STOP is sponsored by Robert L. Poggel, a Birch Society section leader.

### Utilities

"Overcharge," a new book by Senator Lee Metcal (D. Mont.) and Victor Reinemer, one of his assistants, documents that many

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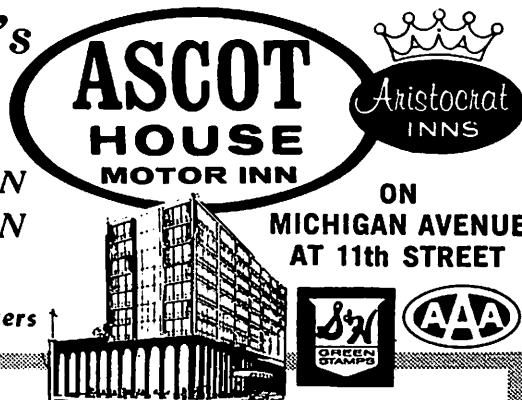
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## The Wackenhut Corporation

The Wackenhut Corp. has expanded its operations in St. Louis and is propagandizing businessmen with a series of pamphlets on "Communism and You" which pursue a Birchite line. The Corp. — formed in 1954 — provides guards and screens prospective employees from a central file of more than 2,500,000 names with 10,000 added each week. The Company has 4,033 employees. Its directors include Ralph E. Davis, a Birch Society leader. The Company also has a subsidiary, Wackenhut Services, Inc., which has multi-million dollar contracts with some of the largest federal agencies for plant protection, including NASA, AEC, FAA, and VA. The NASA contract alone is for \$4,250,000. Directly or indirectly, the government paid 38% of Wackenhut's earnings in 1965. ■

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